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Arms Control, Nuclear Weapons Issues

The Russian Defense Ministry press center reported that "there are no nuclear weapons in South Ossetia nor in the Transcaucasus.... Every such item is being kept under strict control and being securely guarded at specially equipped storage facilities. Not a single case of their loss has ever been recorded." Russian TV reports the center's statement, which is based on "reliable information from the Chief Command of the CIS Armed Forces."

Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, in meeting with the visiting Mongolian foreign minister, said that there are "176 strategic missiles in Ukraine. In addition, aviation, which belongs to the united command of the Commonwealth, has strategic nuclear ammunition," reports INTERFAX. Kravchuk went on to note that "130 of the 176 strategic missiles are loaded with liquid fuel" and noted the need for a safe method for their destruction, as well as "outside help" in attaining its nuclear-free goal.

Yeltsin Orders Poll on Congress

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA reports that Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued an order to conduct "immediately, over three-four days" an "all-Russian public opinion poll" on "the president's idea of removing the Congress of People's Deputies from the country's political life." One of the questions to be asked is: "'Do you trust the Congress of ... People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet ... to adopt decisions, without consultation with the Russian Federation president or without approval through a nationwide vote, on the questions of the Constitution, election legislation, and the right to land ownership?'"

Russian Security Ministry Changes

ITAR-TASS reports that Russian Security Minister Viktor Barannikov prepared an order removing "a group of high-ranking generals and officers of the ministry's top echelons from their posts and immeditately dismissing them from the security bodies. They include the present head of counterintelligence." These changes are called "only the first blow by the new leadership ... against circles of corruption."

Moldovan, Russian Foreign Ministers Meet

Bucharest Radio reports that Moldovan Foreign Minister Nicolae Tiu met with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev in Moscow for talks. "The ministers reasserted their agreement with the political methods of settling the conflict through the interaction of the four-way party mechanism—set up during the 6 April Chisinau meeting of the ministers of Russia, the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, and Romania." A communique was issued, noting that the ministers had set up "three working groups: to monitor the observance of cease-fire resolutions and the introduction into the buffer zone of the military observers of the four countries; to work on military issues and find solutions to the problems regarding withdrawal of the 14th Army; and to work on political and legal aspects of the settlement of the conflict."

Byelarus Claims CIS Training Center

Byelarus is planning to claim part of a CIS navy training center located on its territory "to use it for training the Byelarusian merchant marine personnel," INTERFAX reports. Another INTERFAX report notes, however, that the CIS Navy intends to retain the facility under its jurisdiction and continue using it to train officers. The article points out that Byelarus may claim a share of the naval vessels or "demand to transfer their worth to the accounts of the Republic's national banks."

Ministry Denies Nuclear Arms in S. Ossetia

LD0206195892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Jun 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In our evening "Vesti" bulletin we quoted the NEGA agency report on South Ossetia Prime Minister Oleg Teziyev saying he does not exclude the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons by the Tskhinvali authorities for defense purposes. We have just been informed by the press center of the Russian Ministry of Defense that, according to reliable information from the Chief Command of the CIS Armed Forces, there are no nuclear weapons in South Ossetia nor in the Transcaucasus in general. Every such item is being kept under strict control and being securely guarded at specially equipped storage facilities. Not a single case of their loss has ever been recorded.

Russian Official Says No Arms Losses Recorded

LD0306103992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1022 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—"Not a single case has so far been recorded of nuclear weapons, belonging to the CIS Joint Armed Forces or the Russian Army, being lost. Every type of nuclear weapon is registered per piece and kept in specially equipped and guarded storehouses," ITAR-TASS was told today by an official of the Russian Defence Ministry's press centre.

The official said that some means of mass information continue to publish reports directly or indirectly claiming that some nuclear weapons, belonging to the Russian Army or the CIS Joint Armed Forces, have been lost. Thus, the newspaper "VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA" recently published a report on the disappearance of 23 nuclear warheads, which allegedly vanished from one of the Far Eastern arms depots this March.

The official denied reports that the South Ossetian leadership possesses nuclear weapons by saying that there were no such arms in South Ossetia or in Transcaucasia as a whole.

Further Report on Missing Warheads

LD0306093692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1846 GMT 2 Jun 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Vladivostok—The chief of the Far Eastern Military District stated that the district had nothing to do with 23 nuclear warheads, reported missing in Komsomolsk-on-Amur last March. On June 2, the deputy chief of the missile troops and artillery department of the Far Eastern Military District Major-General Leonid Shivdiakov further stated to PF [POSTFACTUM] that it was for the first time that he had heard of that loss in Komsomolsk-on-Amur.

As competent persons reported to PF on June 2, PF information dated 27 May, this year, published by a number of mass media, foreign ones included, on the search for 23 nuclear warheads aroused the wish of certain specialists of the RSM to look into the loss (if it actually happened) of ammunition not relying on the good preparation in the field of nuclear armaments of the RF [Russian Federation] presidential envoy in Khabarovsk territory Vladimir Desyatov, who had made the data on the loss of the ammunition public and allegedly was personally making a search for it.

PF has gleaned from sources close to the nuclear weapons in the Far East, that, according to all the indices, the nuclear warheads belong to the navy, which has been responsible for their security. The same sources reckon that the warheads are likely to be part of the armaments of the unfinished nuclear submarines at Leninskiy Komsomol shipyards and should not have been stored in Komsomolsk-on-Amur.

Russian Ministry Denies Nuclear Bombs Loss

PM0106154192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 May 92 p 3

[Russian Federation Defense Ministry Press Center report: "Nuclear Bombs Stored Reliably. No Cases of Losses"]

[Text] On 12 and 14 May this year IZVESTIYA (Nos. 110 and 112) published "sensational" articles on the alleged 1976 crash of a Soviet strategic bomber in the Sea of Okhotsk. As a result of the crash, the articles claimed, two nuclear bombs were lost and were subsequently fished out of the sea by the Americans and the Japanese. The CIS Joint Armed Forces Press Center sent the IZVESTIYA Editorial Office 15 May a document officially refuting the reported loss of nuclear munitions. Given that the newspaper has not yet published this information and that the public, as IZVESTIYA put it, is unclear as to "just where the two Soviet nuclear bombs went," it is necessary to reiterate that neither in 1976 nor before or since this year have our strategic bombers flown on combat alert duty with nuclear bombs on board, nor do they do so at present. All nuclear munitions for the Air Force are held in reliably protected installations which are specially equipped for this purpose. Any work to fit such munitions to aircraft in peacetime, even for exercises, is categorically forbidden. This rule is unswervingly observed.

Ukraine's Kravchuk on Weapons Destruction

OW0206204192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The destruction of all tactical nuclear weapons in 11 Commonwealth nations will cost 150 billion rubles, and the destruction of weapons in Russian warehouses can be accomplished no earlier than the year 2000, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said in Kiev

Tuesday [2 June] during a meeting with the Mongolian Minister of Foreign Relations Gombosuren.

Kravchuk also said that there are 176 strategic missiles in Ukraine. In addition, aviation, which belongs to the united command of the Commonwealth, has strategic nuclear ammunition.

The President said Kiev's main problem is that Ukraine, the third most powerful nuclear power in the world, is unable to attain its goal of becoming nuclear-free without outside help. 130 of the 176 strategic missiles are loaded with liquid fuel; a safe method for their destruction has not been developed. Assistance from Western nations is needed.

Gorbachev Comments on U.S., Russian Moves

PM2905132292 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 May 92 p 2

[Interview with M. Gorbachev by D. Muratov and Yu. Sorokin, under the rubric "Once a Month With Gorbachev"; date and place not given: "M. Gorbachev Thinks It Is Time the Government Came Out From Underground"]

[Text] [Gorbachev] I would like you to answer a question of mine first. This is not an interrogation of Gorbachev, it is a conversation. Right?

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Right.

[Gorbachev] I would be interested to hear your opinion. This is a fact: Our press kept quiet about Gorbachev's visit to the United States. Worse, the little that was said about the visit went like this: The country and people are living in poverty, and Gorbachev is traveling around in a cowboy hat making millions for himself, and has already bought a house. That was the only view of Gorbachev that people's attention was drawn to. Well fine, people may say: What more has Gorbachev got to say, it is all well known already, nobody wants to know. However, there is a snag: How do you explain the fact that America showed such enormous interest in what Gorbachev had to say and how he answered the questions put to him? I traveled 14,000 km around America and had dozens of meetings, of every possible kind. In Fulton, there were 15,000 people, I was able to get a ticket for Shevardnadze's granddaughter, to help out. In Stanford there were 12,000 people, at Emory—24,000. Everywhere—an attentive silence.

For two weeks, all the American press and all the television companies covered the visit. I even had to give interviews in the elevator. Finally, the members of Congress stood to greet Gorbachev and to bid him good-bye. So something here does not hang together. It cannot be the case that they are interested in something, but we are not interested in it at all.

I could add that the Russian Government itself made considerable efforts to adversely influence both the Congress and the U.S. President with regard to my visit.

Let us put it like this: Recently both the right-wing press and the democratic press in Russia have simply got it in for Gorbachev, trying to discredit me and arouse hatred and malice against me in society. So what do you really think about all this? I wonder, because even KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA could not resist plunging in with a striking item on the subject of the Florida villa I am supposed to have bought, and that was after I had told you all about Gorbachev's real estate...

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] About the Florida villa (incidentally, we have already published a refutation and we apologize, Mikhail Sergeyevich, again), there is certainly a suspicious story here, which we want to try to clear up. At the moment, what we know is as follows. The report was prepared not by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, but by the IMA-PRESS news agency. IMA-PRESS got the information from a certain Roman Liskin, general director of a Kiev firm which sells real estate in the United States. Obviously it is good publicity for him. He said somebody had come to him from the Gorbachev Foundation and put in a request for the purchase of a villa.

[Gorbachev] There's plenty of scum around. He's some kind of con man. I told you how Zagladin was in Germany and that he had met an "aide" of mine there, who was traveling around Europe concluding contracts. It's a new version of the sons of Lieutenant Schmidt [proverbial swindlers].

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] As for the reaction of the press in general, one certainly gets the impression that there is an ever increasing distance between you and our day-to-day problems. You are abroad more often than you are here. Maybe it is because of your notorious agreement with Yeltsin.

[Gorbachev] They even give you your subsidy on a monthly basis, so that they can keep an eye on how people are behaving. As an incentive to good behavior.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Well, we have not yet felt any political pressure on that score at the paper's offices.

[Gorbachev] So what's the problem?

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] No doubt the media's irritation is a reflection of the irritation in society.

[Gorbachev] Life has taught me that if you want to get to the bottom of a situation, you have to look at concrete interests, and everything immediately falls into place. I can understand the position of reactionary, extreme, conservative forces. They supported the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] and wrecked our attempts to sign the Union Treaty, the commencement of the fulfillment of the anticrisis program, and the possibility of reforming our party. They saw the way things were going—toward an end to the nomenklatura's monopoly. Their gravy train had already been damaged—by the free elections. They supported the SCSE because they saw their salvation in this: in stopping the reforms. I can understand that, and now, in order to conceal their own treachery, they want to declare the SCSE to be heroes, and make Gorbachev responsible for everything. The people should be told who wrecked the anticrisis program, which, incidentally, included plans for stabilization, demonopolization, privatization—everything that should have come before the release of prices. That is why all these papers—PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, DEN—that whole bloc—have turned fierce and don't care what they say.

That is one side. What about the democratic side? Here I must say that the democrats, being under pressure and

basically under the complete control of today's government structures, are running out of steam, along with the democratic press.

The Union Treaty, which was ready by then and which, after all the trials and tribulations, seven republics were ready to approve, was scrapped and thrown out—in favor of the Commonwealth. Now the Commonwealth is coming apart at the seams, and none of us can really analyze what is happening to us. Yet it was obvious beforehand that all these problems would arise—with armies, territories, human rights. The economic treaty, signed by 11 republics, was already with the Supreme Soviets awaiting ratification—and they scrapped it and tore it up—and incidentally, attached to it were drafts of 20 concrete agreements drawn up by the Yavlinskiy group and the Interstate Economic Committee.

All this was there—and it was all thrown away. Thrown away in order to continue the same course of reforms, but with different tactics. These tactics led to the present state of affairs—where the people are on the brink of breakdown. In this situation, of course, they have to find a lightning rod.

Well, fine, let's find a lightning rod. Let's nail the Gorbachev story to the whipping post. What next?

This is what we find next. In order to take power and destroy the center, they destroyed the Union at the same time. I have said before and I repeat—this was a strategic mistake. Now we are reaping the fruits: On top of all the difficulties of an objective nature, the transition to a market economy, we have all this disintegration—political, economic, and human. As a result, the situation is grave. Instead of rallying all reformist forces, listening to each other, and seeking consensus, the present government is just reacting to the situation. It does not like it at all when people make critical comments, particularly when those comments are made by the people who started the reforms and who wish them success. If things do not change, there is a danger that this government will fail to cope with the situation. The new authorities know how to destroy, but they have not yet demonstrated that they know how to build. The government should recruit all available forces, but it does not even consider it necessary to consult. We say this on our own initiative—but it is seen as interference.

That is unacceptable to me. Do you remember what they used to say about the Bolsheviks—what makes a good Bolshevik? Now they are making it clear that the best thing for an ex-president to do is to keep his mouth shut. I have said before: I am not going off into the taiga, I am not leaving politics or public affairs.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] In America you apparently supported the Russian reforms.

[Gorbachev] When did I not support them? How can I not support them, when I am calling on all the world to support them, otherwise a terrible black hole could form into which half the world will be drawn. Do you think I am swooning away with effusive admiration for the present government?

That is too crude a view of Gorbachev. (By the way, a crude and vulgarized view of Gorbachev is being propounded by all kinds of upstarts and rabble of a very low intellectual level. But even that pleases me—after all, it is as a result of Gorbachev that people who know nothing and are not capable of systematic reasoning or analysis are nonetheless speaking out fearlessly. It is a great boost when they start building intelligent foundations.)

This is the main point: Conformism and apologetics are the worst possible service to the present government, with its authoritarian ways and its sectarian stance. They grew so used to doing everything in parallel, secretly, so that the center would not find out, that they are still doing so today. They have a tradition of working underground. Now what is needed is that society, since it has embarked on the most terrible experiences, should know everything and accept everything consciously. People should not be presented with surprises.

True, I am a private individual, while the present president was elected by the people. As the newspapers tell us, his rating is steadily increasing, approaching 80 percent, and I could now take up the most peaceful position possible—and not interfere at all.

How can I not express my opinions? Only the other day, on 23 May, I was asking people from my home territory: How are things? I knew there had been rain and snow, May had been cool—all that is just what Stavropol needs for the harvest, but it seems it could all come to nothing. The situation is disastrous—and this is in Stavropol Kray! On 1 January the kray's kolkhozes and sovkhozes had an average of 20 million each in their accounts, and some farms had 40 million. Now, with isolated exceptions, they are all in the red. Stripped bare: They cannot buy equipment, or fertilizer, or top-dress the winter crops. Why is this, when the countryside could demand any price you like for food? People have to eat. Yes, but the food and processing industry is no longer taking milk and meat at the prices the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are asking. Why not? Because the customer cannot tolerate these prices any longer. That is what has happened as a result of the total freeing of prices in industry. What is the countryside doing? Cutting back on production, otherwise they can only make losses.

Listen, it's ridiculous! State intervention in the agrarian sector exists everywhere. If this is not tackled now, I predict the direst consequences, of an economic and political nature. True, I am told that they have now allocated 6 billion to support agriculture—but that is chicken feed, given that Stavropol Kray alone used to make a profit of 2 billion in a single year. It is all chicken feed, it is only a knee-jerk reaction. Incidentally, that is the style of the present government: not a systematic approach and the identification of priorities, but exceptional solutions that are mainly for show, for effect.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Your assessments coincide, on the whole, with Yavlinskiy's view. He also concludes that all that is happening is a knee-jerk reaction....

[Gorbachev] Haven't we seen them signing decrees and directives as they travel around our Russian villages? I want to continue, I must convey my enormous anxiety through KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. I don't even know whether the government will be able to put things right now, because the sowings of a number of crops have already been cut back and people are shedding livestock, because the people have no faith in all of this. This is an urgent national, state task, otherwise everything will fall apart.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Mikhail Sergeyevich, in your view, why is this happening? Is it simply that the wrong people are in government?

[Gorbachev] I think that within the framework of what is generally the right course, there is a great deal of confusion of all kinds.

If we have set the task of curbing prices and achieving financial stabilization, it must be borne in mind that this task, which is correct in itself, is still only an interim task. The ultimate task is to arrive at an efficient economy. However, in order to stabilize the financial situation and release prices, you need certain prerequisites. There was a purpose for why Yavlinskiy, when he was preparing the economic treaty, at the same time, set about drawing up concrete appendixes to it, outlining the necessary measures: the preservation of the economic area, demonopolization, privatization, banking reform, dismantling of state ownership, the stimulation of small-scale private business and trade, peasant reform. That is to say, first you have a system, and the release of prices follows.

Now, if I understand it correctly, we are approaching hyperinflation. When the government states that releasing prices of energy sources will push up all prices by a factor of 0.75—I don't believe it any more than I believed what they were telling us before. There is a lack of economic modeling, calculation. Or else the calculations exist, but they are being concealed from us. I agree with the economist Zadornov, who does not rule out an increase of two and a half to three times in retail prices.

On the one hand, I realize that the government is forced to take certain steps solely in order to prevent the social situation from exploding. This is no time to sit over a lengthy program. But all the same, a package of interconnected measures is needed. I think it should involve two factors above all: the stimulation of the small-scale producer, the middle-level entrepreneur, and the peasantry, combined with democratic privatization. I will tell you frankly: Privatization, in its pure form, will not work in our country, it is unacceptable both psychologically and economically.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What does democratic privatization mean?

[Gorbachev] It means, in many cases, handing over ownership rights free.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Popov arrived at the same view.

[Gorbachev] I cannot agree with Popov, who, in an interview in a foreign newspaper, came out in favor of legitimizing and giving equal rights to both mafia structures and the nomenklatura. You know, that is a frankly antipopular stance.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Mikhail Sergeyevich, don't you think that the press is also refraining from attacking this government because it is simply afraid for the government?

[Gorbachev] I understand you. In Japan I was asked: What is happening at the Congress, whatever will become of the government? I said: Forget it, don't panic. They'll come to terms. Why will they come to terms? Because the Congress is a faithful reflection of what is happening in society. In society, for all the criticism and all the dissatisfaction, people realize that there is no going back. The reforms are necessary.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] All the same—if your monologue is to be taken as guidance for action, the government must be removed....

[Gorbachev] No, it should make adjustments. I will say more: If we start unhitching the horses in midstream, things will get even worse.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] We are constantly poised on the brink: Any day now they will remove the government or not remove it, vote for it or not vote for it....

[Gorbachev] The government should not exploit that situation. It should get on with the job. If you don't know how to do the job, then say so honestly and resign. If you are confident that you can do it, then get on with it, and enlist those who are committed to the reforms. Some things frankly brook no delay.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Please explain the mechanism to me: How is it possible to do this? Do you sit Yavlinskiy and Gaydar in the same corridor, in offices opposite each other?

[Gorbachev] If Yeltsin calls, all the reformers will come to him. They will come, because it is necessary.

Just look at Otto Latsis, who fights for them in every article he writes—doesn't he know what is happening either, what they are doing? Tell me, what kind of sectarian government is this?

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Yeltsin has no intention of replacing Gaydar.

[Gorbachev] Good luck to them, if they can hold out!

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Do you think they will hold out?

[Gorbachev] I have yet to see them make any real adjustments. They have done a few things.

I have yet to see a whole package that would convince me: Yes, substantial adjustments are being made to this model of implementing the reform. I have only seen individual elements so far, and many of them. An urgent discussion with the peasants is needed. I am sure agreement can be reached, with the industrialists as well. Otherwise all this will be followed by regionalization, everyone will concern himself with his own individual survival. Then our federation will come apart at the seams....

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] You certainly don't like the present authorities.

[Gorbachev] What do you mean, I don't like them! I spent 14 days traveling around America, 14 days saying that Russia needs help now. What about Ukraine, what about Kazakhstan?—they asked. Yes, they need help too, but right now—Russia. It took the lead, it is in a grave situation. The most sensitive phase, with unpredictable consequences. Especially since heaven knows what blunders have been made. Everything must be decided right now! Those $24 bn (billion), when I looked into it, it turns out that it is mainly the same $11 bn of credits on which I reached agreement, plus the $5-6 bn for stabilization which I asked for back in London. I said to the Americans: The decision has been made, but if credit or financial operations start being implemented in a year's time or even in a few months, it will be no use to anyone, it will be too late. I said that to Bush, and I said it straight out to the Congress. I was at lunch, after my speech, and meanwhile the Senators were running around and voting, and by the end of our lunch they told us that the Foreign Relations Committee had voted in support of the measures proposed by Bush for granting aid to Russia. They rushed in and told us.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] All the same, let us come back to your agreement with B.N. Yeltsin that you are outside active politics. Don't you think, Mikhail Sergeyevich, that you have broken that agreement in the present KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA interview?

[Gorbachev] Listen, Yeltsin isn't Jesus Christ—it's not him I have to answer to. If you want to know, this is what was discussed.

At that time, during the "handover of affairs," we were preparing one decree after another: the transformation of structures, how it was all to be transferred from the Union to the Commonwealth and Russia. We sat there for nine hours—myself, Yeltsin, and Aleksandr Nikolayevich (Yakovlev—editor's note). We went out, had dinner, then continued. We came to the creation of our Foundation. First, if you remember, there was a decree that on the basis of a decision by the leaders of the Commonwealth countries, the former Union president was granted a pension and a car and given life tenure of a dacha. Then there was a decree on what telephones to install, what cars to allocate, and so forth. The fact was that the president of Russia had made a pledge to the heads of the CIS states to resolve this. The question of the Foundation then arose. He read out the draft that had been drawn up. He asked: You won't set up an opposition party on the basis of the Foundation, will you? I replied: No. Furthermore, I will support and defend the leadership of Russia as long as it pursues democratic transformations.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] To put it crudely, do you think the present leadership is afraid of you?

[Gorbachev] Why should they be afraid of me? This was my conscious choice. I repeat: I will not conceal my disagreement, this interview is evidence of that. If the reforms are being curtailed, if they are going in the wrong direction, if they turn the people against democracy—I will not keep quiet.

Military

Greater CIS Military Cooperation Noted

LD0206155492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1352 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Interview with Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, by correspondent Tatyana Chemodanova at the international Democratic Society and Military Security conference in Moscow on 2 June—recorded]

[Text] [Chemodanova] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, what prospects do you think there are for military organizational development within the framework of the Commonwealth?

[Shaposhnikov] We are in the midst of tackling a most unique task. Whereas the defensive alliances we had in the past were created where countries had their own armed forces, here the processes of integration have reached a point where signs that each state is forming its own armed forces have already appeared, though these forces do not yet exist. There are merely declarations, and so on and so forth. While, at the same time, there are so many different kind of threads—both visible and invisible—which have linked us throughout history. We must not break them now. So, we are engaged both in building our own armed forces and the Joint Armed Forces to avoid separating completely. This will be in the interest of both the peoples and the army and also of the leaders of all the states. I am pleased by the fact that, at the recent Tashkent summit, the High Command was no longer the sole initiator on these problems—we have spoken about this previously—but it was the presidents themselves: above all Karimov, Nazarbayev, and Yeltsin.

[Chemodanova] In other words, they understood and gave their support?

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, they even acted as initiators in this respect. That is, whereas previously we had moved apart to such an extent that we had begun to divide up weapons, hardware, people, area, and so on, now we have, as it were, woken up, and in this sense the CIS is gaining its second wind.

[Chemodanova] What structure of the High Command and what main tasks and functions are being proposed?

[Shaposhnikov] It used to happen from time to time that first there was a person, then functions were attached to him, and then his tasks were established. I think it should be the other way around. After all, the CIS Joint Armed Forces do exist, and the treaty on collective security has given it the green light. The first primary function is, of course, strategic nuclear forces. As for the second function—much is now being said about military reform. It seems to me that we need some kind of coordinating body which can pull everything together and make some recommendations and proposals that would suit all participants in this Commonwealth, especially those who signed the treaty on collective security. The next task is that of rapidly responding to possible low-intensity conflicts, and we think there will be some kind of rapid response armed forces which are operationally subordinate to the High Command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces. The next function: The struggle for peace does, all the same, remain, perhaps, a cornerstone of international life today.

Now to the structures. The High Command stands at the top; attached to it is the Council of Defense Ministers, which will meet at regular intervals—or should the need arise—in order to work out coordinated stances on matters of defense organization. In addition, this is where the Staff comes in.

[Chemodanova] Are there any serious disputes on matters of military organization within the CIS or between the heads of the military departments?

[Shaposhnikov] You know there are no very serious disputes. I would say that right now, on the contrary, we are coming to a stretch where there are fewer and fewer underwater rocks, reefs, and obstacles.

Shaposhnikov Interviewed on Policy, Goals

PM2905120192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 May 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, by special correspondent Yelena Agapova under the "Interlocutor of the Day" rubric; place and date not given: "I Do Not Uphold the Joint Armed Forces' Position Out of Personal Interest"—first three paragraphs are biosketch and editorial introduction]

[Text] **Visiting Card**

Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov was born on the Bolshoy Log Farm in Rostov Oblast's Aksayskiy Rayon. He is 50 years old and a Russian. He is a graduate of the Kharkov Pilots' Higher Military Aviation College, the Yu.A. Gagarin Air Force Academy, and the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy. From 1963 through 1988 he rose through the ranks from pilot to commander of an air army. He became first deputy commander in chief of the Air Force in 1988, and commander in chief in July 1990. He became USSR defense minister on 23 August 1991. Since February 1992 he has been commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces. He is married with three children.

We met with Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov soon after he moved to his new office on Leningrad Prospekt, in the former Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces headquarters. This fact predetermined the subject which kicked off the 90-minute conversation with the Joint Armed Forces commander in chief.

[Agapova] Judging by everything, Yevgeniy Ivanovich, you are leaving behind many kindred spirits who are moving to the Russian Defense Ministry. It has been reported that you will have your own apparatus...

[Shaposhnikov] Around 200-300 people will be transferred to new quarters. Every state which has signed the Treaty on Collective Security delegates a representative to the Joint Armed Forces High Command at deputy chief of staff level, and another three to five people to work here on a permanent basis. Generals who have been appointed to the Heads of State Council—Chief of General Staff Samsonov and Strategic Forces Commander Maksimov—are being transferred here. The question of Semenov, commander of the General Purpose Forces, has still to be resolved. It will be decided by the heads of state at their next meeting 6 July.

[Agapova] Back in January you were advocating preserving the unity of the Armed Forces within the CIS. What you wanted to prevent has come about. How do you assess this reality today?

[Shaposhnikov] I realize that the CIS is neither a state nor a suprastate structure. It is made up of states which have no administrative ties to each other. It is undoubtedly logical that each state should have the right to its own armed forces. This does not mean that we can drive people into a corner and decide their fate in the most inhumane manner, stating that "as of today you're under my jurisdiction, I can leave you where you are or kick you out if I want to..." I am currently upholding the Joint Armed Forces' position not because I have any personal interest or would like to command them. I believe that this is the only way to solve the problems of millions of servicemen and their families in the most painless and civilized fashion.

[Agapova] Talking about personal interest—we learned from the Officers' Assembly that you are not exactly attached to your job. It is said that this is not the first time you have wanted to quit.

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, there were similar cases prior to the assembly, too. I can sincerely say that I am not interested in the job or the title. When the post of USSR defense minister was offered to me I turned it down. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin insisted. If anyone seriously thinks that the job is all beer and skittles, then they are profoundly mistaken. The most important thing for me now is to ensure that all matters involving servicemen are resolved humanely.

[Agapova] Not so long ago you took a 40-minute flight in the French Mirage-2000B fighter. Did you think then that although flying is dangerous, it has nonetheless gotten easier?

[Shaposhnikov] There was a General Gorislavskiy as faculty chief at the Monino [Gagarin] Academy where I studied. He was an interesting man with front-line experience. I liked going to see him for independent study and to talk about life. Somebody once complained to him that it is hard to be a good commander because of the strict responsibility you have for your subordinates. I well remember his reply: "Things were only easy for me when I was a senior pilot, bachelor, and nonparty member..." I would not want anyone to find himself in the maelstrom that I have found myself in. For instance, after every interview or meeting with me, the Ukrainian president considers it his duty to state: "I will remove Shaposhnikov." As if only he were entitled to decide the matter. But I do not complain. We have to work and carry out our duties. All the more so as personal meetings with all presidents, including Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk, are more positive than negative, temper the character, and provide grounds for bringing positions closer together.

[Agapova] It was nine months ago that you were appointed defense minister. The result has been the removal of party influence from the Army, but what is even more important is the Armed Forces' firm position of not taking part in political and ethnic conflicts. But, at the same time, there has been criticism targeted at Marshal Shaposhnikov...

[Shaposhnikov] I have read conjectures to the effect that Shaposhnikov was apparently not appointed Russian defense minister because he was unable to begin military reform. This is untrue—in terms of the big picture we have begun this reform and launched its mechanisms. Party influence really has been removed from the Army. Political organs have become a thing of the past. A committee for work with the personnel has been set up. How it is operating is another matter. But the Army has been removed from the political influence of any parties—that is what is important. The "heavenly group" [military inspectors], which does not exist in any other state, has been abolished. As one newspaper has written, Shaposhnikov has not provided himself with an alternate airfield in the event of a forced landing. The Main Inspectorate, which was responsible for nothing but just carried out checks, has been abolished. But the most important point is something else—we have saved the Army from participating in all sorts of bloody conflicts, however many people have tried to get us involved. Although certain forces are now exploiting this—blood is being shed in certain areas and we military men are being accused of standing aside. Questions should be asked not of the Army but of certain rulers—why do they lead their peoples to the point where people are shooting each other?

Now to turn to the concept of the Armed Forces. This concept has been stated. But, tell me, is it possible at a time of centrifugal tendencies, when every state is concerned about setting up its own armed forces, to have a unified concept for the armed forces' organizational development? Clearly not. All the more so when certain political leaders ignore agreements they themselves have adopted. I am forced to spend 90 percent of my time simply on resolving the well-known disorder on military matters which continually crops up between states.

[Agapova] Fire fighting...

[Shaposhnikov] More or less. In around one-and-a-half to two months' time we will once again be preparing batches of documents for the heads of state meetings. I will need to assemble the defense ministers, fly out to see some people, convince them, explain things, cool their attitude... It seems as though I am basically becoming not a military leader but virtually a CIS politician.

[Agapova] It seems that the logic of events predicts that the CIS will be something temporary. If a split should occur, it would inevitably effect the future of the Joint Armed Forces...

[Shaposhnikov] Since the Tashkent meeting, where the Treaty on Collective Security was signed, I have been thinking otherwise. Because the initiative came not so much from me as from the presidents themselves. Under the treaty, a Collective Security Council, comprising the heads of the participating states and the commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, is to be set up. It now seems to me that issues will be easier to resolve, because, following the Tashkent meeting, the positions of all the presidents have finally become definite and clear-cut.

[Agapova] What, in your opinion, are now the main tasks of the commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces?

[Shaposhnikov] There are a number of tasks. First, to ensure reliable centralized command and unified control of the Strategic Forces on the independent states' territories, to improve their structures within the terms of the START Treaty, and to maintain them at a necessary and adequate level in the interests of the whole Commonwealth.

Second, I am tasked with reacting in a rapid and coordinated manner to prevent local conflicts on the CIS' external borders, with agreeing and coordinating operational planning, and with setting up the necessary infrastructure and military theater equipment in operational terms in the interests of all states signatory to the Treaty on Collective Security.

And finally, the third task is to comprehensively analyze the military-political situation in the world, to coordinate efforts to prevent war, and to elaborate proposals and recommendations to the CIS Collective Security Council on certain events and trends in the military-political situation.

[Agapova] Could you give us a few more details about the results of the recently-ended CIS defense ministers' meeting?

[Shaposhnikov] The tasks and functions of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command were the subjects we discussed at the 26 May CIS defense ministers' meeting which I referred to in my answer to the previous question. These tasks were supported by virtually everybody. We did not quite sort out the structures, but there is still time before the next presidents' meeting on 6 July. We have also specified the list of strategic forces. We have agreed on a unified aircraft identification system. We have started defining the degree of subordination and responsibility for the state of the Strategic Forces located on the four states' territories.

A great deal of attention was devoted to talks on this problem with the Ukrainian delegation, which, as is well known, has stated that it has administrative jurisdiction over the Strategic Forces on its territory. So far, no general understanding has been reached. This week the Strategic Forces commander will continue work on this issue with the Ukrainian military leadership.

One other important point. We determined at the meeting that the Strategic Forces comprise the Strategic Rocket Forces, airborne strategic nuclear forces, naval strategic nuclear forces, missile attack early warning systems, some space systems, strategic reconnaissance, and logistics subunits.

[Agapova] Will this decision on the Strategic Forces affect the fate of the Black Sea Fleet?

[Shaposhnikov] Under the 16 January agreement between the heads of state, the question of the Black Sea Fleet will be decided by Russia and Ukraine.

[Agapova] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, allow me now to move the conversation in a totally different direction. It has been claimed that not so long ago you turned down a very good apartment—far better than the one you currently occupy, which you received when you were deputy commander in chief of the Air Force. Is that correct?

[Shaposhnikov] It has been proposed to me several times that I should move. For instance, Gorbachev once proposed that I become his neighbor on Kosygin Street. I was also offered a place on Khovanskaya Street—where the cosmonauts live—and in other places. But I have decided not to move.

[Agapova] You will agree that little is known of this aspect of your life. But, on the other hand, there have been articles on a subject long-forgotten by journalists—dachas for high-ranking military men. What can you say on that score?

[Shaposhnikov] You know, I have always opposed the idea of officials having official dachas and paying preferential rates for their lease, repair, and servicing. All the more so as under Yazov there was such a fuss about official dachas for leading Armed Forces personnel. At the end of last year—taking account of the new prices and in connection with the abolition of the "heavenly group," which had basically been in charge of our stock of dachas—we increased the rates for leasing official dachas, of which we have more than 100. There were complaints and statements from the tenants. The question was then raised of whether the buildings could be sold off, thereby putting a stop forever to official Defense Ministry dachas. It turned out that they could. The

decision was made. After many consultations with Russian Government organs (the State Committee for the Management of State Property) I signed an order allowing the sale of dachas not at their residual book value but at 1991 prices. I refused to auction off the dachas owned by the former USSR Defense Ministry for this reason—they would not have been bought by Armed Forces veterans who have served for 30-50 years or by deserving military men, but by all kinds of black marketeers. As for myself personally, I got a mortgage to buy an unfurnished dacha which had never been used. Prosecutors are currently checking the correctness of the prices at which the dachas were bought. Incidentally, the Defense Ministry has received 11 million rubles from their sale, and this has been used to resolve servicemen's social problems. Currently the Russian Defense Ministry has just a few dachas left, and these cannot be sold because of their high cost. It is planned to temporarily lease these dachas for freely convertible currency, which will then be spent on social needs.

[Agapova] It has been noted that you are seen less frequently out of uniform. Is there some reason for that?

[Shaposhnikov] Not at all. On Saturdays I only ever wear civvies to work—even though I know that some military men do not like it.

[Agapova] Thank you for this talk, Yevgeniy Ivanovich, and permit me to ask one last question which is currently of interest to many people: What is your relationship like with the new Russian Defense Ministry leadership?

[Shaposhnikov] In my view, it is normal and entirely healthy. I believe that the Russian Defense Ministry needs to be strengthened and, if my help is required, I am ready to give it. Yeltsin has charged Army General Grachev with representing Russian interests at our Defense Ministers' Council. Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev is taking part in this work and we have no major problems.

Shaposhnikov Cited on New CIS High Command

PM0106150592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 May 92 p 1

[Colonel O. Falichev report: "Leningradskiy Prospekt, 41—This Is the New Address of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command"]

[Text] As we know, in connection with the creation of the Russian Armed Forces, the Russian Federation Defense Ministry will now be located in the "White House" on the Arbat. As for the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command, then it, along with its staff of approximately 200 people, has moved to Leningradskiy Prospect, No. 41.

...We pass through the ornate iron gates, having shown our pass to the guard. We are greeted by well-tended, asphalted paths with tall blue-green fir trees bordering them. Set well back stands a compact building of moderate height with the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces' emblem preserved on the pediment. It is precisely this building which used to house the headquarters of the defensive alliance, which nowadays is merely recalled in comparison with today's thriving NATO bloc.

The building contains everything necessary for the reliable functioning of all structures of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Staff—ranging from various communications facilities, to a canteen and comfortable guest quarters to accommodate members of Commonwealth states' military delegations. Of course, the new services still have some building and equipping work to finish off. In the meantime, the corridors in this building are quite deserted. The doors of many offices still sport plaques bearing the surnames of erstwhile occupants...

The fact is that it is still not known which structures will go to make up the High Command. We tried to talk about this subject with some of the officers we met here. But they all merely shrugged their shoulders. This is understandable. At the first defense ministers' conference in Moscow, drafts were presented on the composition of the High Command's structural subdivisions, but they did not receive full and unanimous approval. Therefore, it is premature to talk in definite terms about anything at all.

The CIS Joint Armed Forces Public Relations Center tried to help us. But it was impossible to gain a sufficiently detailed picture. As we were told, the only thing that can be said with any certainty is that Lieutenant General L. Ivashov has been appointed secretary of the Commonwealth Defense Ministers Council.

Nevertheless, we did manage to find something out. That is, once KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondents were received by Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command. In a brief conversation, he replied to our questions quite openly—even those for which there are no prepared solutions—and he shared with us some of his plans. So what emerged?

Above all, we were interested to know: Does the High Command's new office have everything necessary to ensure the efficient leadership of the CIS Joint Armed Forces? It seems that it does. Including systems for commanding and controlling nuclear weapons, a direct line to the Central Command Point, and "hot lines" to the presidents of Commonwealth countries... So, the commander in chief, as he himself told us, suffers no inconvenience or complications in leading the forces entrusted to him.

What will be the purpose and role of the collective organs of command and control? Here, primarily, the issue concerns the Collective Security Council, which will work out common strategies, military-political positions [polozheniya], and the requirements for organizing combined defense, and will evaluate the world military-political situation. The Defense Ministers Council in its

turn will elaborate proposals on resolving current questions of operational planning and cooperation between national armies, and prepare these proposals for examination by the Council of Heads of State. "I think that a Committee of Chiefs of Staff should be formed too," Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov said. "Moreover, their deputies could work here on a permanent basis. I am preparing this proposal for examination by defense ministers from the Commonwealth states."

Which structures should make up the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command itself? Ye. Shaposhnikov holds the view that it should contain a number of structures—the Commonwealth states' Defense Ministers Council, a Secretariat, a treaty and law department and a department of foreign relations, a staff with all the functions inherent to it, a strategic forces command... As for those destined to command the main sectors [napravlieniya], then it is still a bit too early to talk about these appointments.

Of course, much of what Yevgeniy Ivanovich said is still only in the planning stage. Time will tell how these plans will be implemented. Many of the officers who have transferred here are concerned that not all of their appointments can be considered to be signed, sealed and delivered. But this too is a matter for the not-too-distant future. Life itself will determine who should make up the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command, and which powers they should possess.

And finally, let us remember that the next conference of the CIS Member States Defense Ministers Council will take place in Moscow, 6 July.

Arms Transfer to Caucasian Republics Clarified

LD2905234192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 29 May 92

[Video report by G. Solomatin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] We would like to clarify information that appeared in our program yesterday on the transfer of arms by the Russian Ministry of Defense to the Caucasian republics. Here is our correspondent with the details:

[Solomatin] In accordance with the governmental agreements reached in Tashkent and Kiev and the working documents of the meetings of the defense ministers of Russia and the Caucasian republics on the creation of national armed forces, it is necessary to implement the transfer of arms and equipment to the governments of the Caucasian republics. Fulfilling these accords, the Caucasian Military District is carrying out the transfer of equipment and small arms to Azerbaijan. So far, nothing has been transferred to Armenia and Georgia. Probably this civilized approach to the division of the military property of the Caucasian Military District is the only correct way to put a stop to the theft and illegal seizure of arms and will direct the flow of arms and hardware to the control of responsible people rather than to nationalist groupings inflaming an armed conflict in the Caucasus. It will lend a certain status to the Russian armed forces which located here.

[Begin Tengiz Kitovani recording] We have had 200 years to get used to Russian troops here. I think it will be difficult to live without them. That is the main thing. [end recording] [video shows men in civilian suits and Soviet army uniforms walking past armored personnel carriers being maintained by mechanics; pan from 100-foot-high watchtower to ZiL army trucks in a compound; meeting between civilians and military; legible placecards reading: Sigua, Patrizheyev, Kitovani MI military helicopter taxiing; Kitovani addressing camera]

Black Sea Fleet Issues

Agreement Reached To Transfer Bases to Georgia

PM0106141692 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jun 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Besik Urigashvili report: "Black Sea Naval Bases Handed Over to Georgia"]

[Text] Tbilisi—A meeting of representatives of the governments of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, and of the Transcaucasus Military District command, took place in Tbilisi 29 May on the Transcaucasus Military District's initiative.

The main aim of the meeting was to discuss questions of the military development of the armies of the Transcaucasian independent states and collaboration in the technical servicing of these armies by the forces of the Transcaucasus Military District.

In addition to the meeting's organizers, the Transcaucasus Military District command, also taking part were Tengiz Sigua, acting prime minister of Georgia; Georgian Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani; Georgian Internal Affairs Minister Roman Gventsadze; Karlos Kazaryan, security adviser to the chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers; Vigen Chetiryan, deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers; and Lieutenant General Parshatly, chief of the Azerbaijani Armed Forces Main Staff.

Talking to journalists, Colonel General Valeriy Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, stated: Agreement was reached on the handover of some of the district's combat hardware to the armies of the Transcaucasian states. This hardware will be handed over to the Transcaucasian states on the basis of parity.

Asked whether the role of Russian troops in settling interethnic conflicts in the Transcaucasus will be discussed at the meeting, Patrikeyev stated that work on a treaty on the status of Russian troops in these republics and the duration of their presence in the Transcaucasus is nearing completion. The treaty will apparently be

signed 6 July at the meeting of heads of the sovereign states in Moscow. The treaty will provide a legal basis for the presence of Russian troops in the Transcaucasian republics, and also specify their possible role in resolving interethnic conflicts.

Acting Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua, for his part, commenting on the meeting, stated that agreement has already been reached with the Russian Defense Ministry on the handover to Georgia of the naval bases in Batumi, Poti, and Ochamchiri, along with the ships based there. Several dozen items of heavy armored equipment, 2,000 Kalashnikov assault rifles, the same number of Makarov pistols, and about a million rounds of ammunition will also be handed over to Georgia. According to Sigua, the meeting in effect marks the start of the handover to the Georgian side of the material and technical assets of the former Soviet Army's troops stationed on Georgian territory.

Concerning the political issues preceding the meeting, Sigua stated that under the accord reached, in the very near future the Russian army's helicopter regiment and sapper battalion stationed in Tskhinvali will be withdrawn from there.

Fleet Manned by Non-Ukrainian Draftees

LD0206223292 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] According to Simferopol newspaper YUZHNYY KURYER, the command of the Black Sea Fleet is carrying out its manning, exclusively using draftees from other CIS member states, which violates Ukrainian legislation. YUZHNYY KURYER makes reference to reliable sources.

Talks Postponement Hurts Fleet Morale

PM0206093592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 May 92 p 2

[Report by Captain Third Rank V. Yermolin plus postscript: "New Problems for Spring Draft: Black Sea Fleet Faces Second Round of Talks"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The conflict surrounding the Black Sea Fleet thus enters a new phase. The lack of a clear legal agreement on the fleet between Ukraine and Russia is resulting in a situation whereby such a common procedure—by the old yardsticks—as the spring draft is assuming virtually the nature of a battle on "Crimean soil." It is not difficult to guess the series of moves which might be executed by the Ukrainian Defense Ministry in this area. But any of them, up to and including stopping military traffic and sealing off training centers, will only lead to an escalation of the conflict itself.

At present the politicians are seeking to promote their own "higher" interests, and the fleet is suffering irreversible losses of morale. What will be the upshot of delaying the talks? How long will the Black Sea sailors put up with being pawns in a political game? How much longer will their patience last? It is about time these questions were asked. While the fleet has become nonstrategic, it continues to play a strategic role in the lives of the thousands of people who have thrown in their lot with it. This will probably not be overlooked by the members of the Russian and Ukrainian delegations having embarked on the second round of talks.

Information about a meeting between Ukrainian Defense Minister Lieutenant General K. Morozov and Admiral I. Kasatonov does inspire some optimism. I had a telephone conversation with Igor Vladimirovich [Kasatonov]. He described the meeting with Morozov as highly useful and in some degree as having contributed to mutual understanding between the Ukrainian military department and the Black Sea command. In particular, understanding was reached on the introduction of a single term of service in the fleet (at present this stands at two years under Russian legislation and 18 months under Ukrainian legislation). The minister promised to put this question before parliament. Admiral Kasatonov considers that there is no question affecting the fleet which cannot be examined in a calm atmosphere across the negotiating table. [Yermolin report ends]

Incidentally, the meeting between the Russian and Ukrainian delegations which were to discuss problems connected with the Black Sea Fleet's future has been postponed for the third time. As an ITAR-TASS correspondent learned at the Sochi city administration, the date for the meeting is now described very vaguely in terms of the beginning of June.

Media

ITAR-TASS Reviews Press for 3 Jun

LD0306054592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0521 GMT 3 Jun 92

["Press Review of June 3"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, June 3 (ITAR-TASS)—Newspapers in Moscow pay much attention to the worsening of the social, economic, financial and political situation in Russia.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA publishes the complete text of President Boris Yeltsin's address to workers of oil and gas industries "to overcome difficulties and make it possible for Russian economy to operate rhythmically." The appeal was caused by a growing dissatisfaction of oil and gas workers with "chronic communal problems, high prices, delays with payment of wages." To their pressure to release fuel prices Yeltsin answers that the situation in the country may get beyond control if the demand is satisfied.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an article which comes to the conclusion that Yeltsin's decree "on social protection of servicemen" is not being implemented. "If Russia

does not want irreversible changes within military cadres, it has to do everything to fulfill the decree."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA informs of the resignation of Central Bank chairman Mr. Matyukhin together with his deputy "as if in protest against parliament's decision to reduce the credit interest rate." The newspaper points out that the Central Bank shall by no means report to parliament and "Matyukhin became a victim to government's decisions, of which he was perhaps the only driving force." Deputy Premier Yegor Gaydar's team is at a loss, the newspaper says.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in a commentary on reasons why Russia was allowed to join the IMF says Russia "was admitted due to a request coming from transnational oil corporations which are interested in Russian oil as well as in international legal guarantees."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes that Kiev and the Crimea should distribute powers as the fate of the peninsula depends on that. The same newspaper says there is a nuclear threat to Russia coming from South Ossetia after a statement made by its leader recently. The message was clear: "If Russian Army units continue to support Georgian militants, the answer from the people and the Army of South Ossetia will follow immediately."

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA reports on a plenary meeting of the presidium of the Russian parliament which decided to submit for parliamentary ratification the agreement on support of investment which was signed between the Russian and U.S. Governments.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reported that Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and not Yeltsin will go to take part in the UN Earth summit in Rio de Janeiro and added that that was not a surprise as it is evident Russia cannot contribute greatly to ecology at the moment.

As before, events in the Dniester region are given wide coverage in newspapers.

International Affairs

Grachev Reports Stolen Weapons in Azerbaijan

NC0206172592 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Yerevan, 2 Jun (ARMENPRES)—It has now become clear where the Azerbaijani Army has obtained so many modern weapons. Speaking on television [not further specified], Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said that 60 to 70 percent of the 4th Army's weaponry has been stolen in Azerbaijan. He believes the CIS troops and officers stationed in that Republic and in Transcaucasia are facing the worst situation of all. They are being oppressed and consequently are deserting the Army.

Azerbaijani Envoy Comments on Current Problems

OW0306062892 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1800 GMT 27 May 92

[Studio interview with Khikmet Gadzhizade, Azerbaijani ambassador to Russia, by Sergey Lomakin; from the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] I am glad to introduce our guest. He is Mr. Khikmet Gadzhizade, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Russia, who was appointed a week ago and began work three days ago. I think that he is a fairly interesting person, new to diplomacy but not to politics for the simple reason that he is one of the founders of the Azerbaijani National Front. Prior to that, he was the editor of the National Front newspaper SVOBODA. We will not talk about the newspaper today; rather, we will talk about the fact that today is Azerbaijan's Independence Day.

I do not want the viewers to form the mistaken impression that Azerbaijan acquired this independence a year ago. Evidently, this is not so.

[Gadznizade] No, Azerbaijan gained independence on 28 May 1918, when the first eastern democratic republic was established, including a multiparty parliament and a multiparty system based on pluralism. The government of this democratic republic was a social-democratic one, and in its program it had such propositions as social justice, an eight-hour work day, equality between men and women, social security for workers, and limiting plantation space. During its two years of existence, the democratic republic did a lot. By making use of the significant profits from sales of petroleum, a university and other institutes of higher learning were built, and a major step was taken in organizing the infrastructure. Unfortunately, the republic lasted for only two years, the same as other Transcaucasus republics.

Today, we celebrate this date as a holy one to Azerbaijan democrats, remembering all the while the words of past leaders of the Azerbaijani democratic movement: "Independence to people, freedom to man." Present day Azerbaijani democratic movement similarly tries to reform Azerbaijan and lead it toward democracy, free market, and pluralism.

[Lomakin] Mr. Ambassador, it would have been strange if I had not asked you a question which disturbs not only residents of Azerbaijan, but also many other republics and even the world community. The new leadership of the republic has inherited a mess. I mean the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, of course. How do you think the Azerbaijani leadership plans to solve this problem? The war has been going on for several years now.

[Gadzhizade] The war has been going on for more than a year, and we are all very tired of it. The position of the Azerbaijani Government completely corresponds to the one drawn from the principles of the United Nations and the CSCE. The position includes the inviolability of borders, territorial integrity, and extending guarantees to national minorities living in Azerbaijan. These guarantees may be endorsed by the international community. We are willing to invite observers from both government and nongovernment international organizations to inspect the normalization process. We are willing to submit our legislation on civil rights and liberties and on national minorities to international experts, and to follow their recommendations.

Such questions are being solved all over the world, the mechanism for this exists, but meanwhile the conflict is going on. How could it end? I have already mentioned the principles on which we think the solution should be based. However, if the conflict continues, the international community will eventually form some kind of collective opinion on this issue. This opinion is being formed now, and eventually there will be some kind of moral condemnation of the side which has adopted the wrong attitude. I do not want to say that we are right or wrong, but the international community will have to figure it out. There will be moral and political pressure. The United Nations has developed a certain mechanism for applying pressure, which includes economic and military sanctions. We would not like events to develop in this direction.

New Azarbaijan might yet find a common language with new Armenia and new Russia. This is what my mission is all about—to establish relations between new Azerbaijan and other new states.

[Lomakin] I wish you success in this mission, but would also like to know your opinion on the position of certain observers that armed formations from both sides are active in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it, that they obey no government, and that the war is waged between these guerrillas who are absolutely uncontrollable.

[Gadzhizade] I think that this is only partially true. Undoubtedly, there are such formations, they wage a war and make a living out of it. It has become their way of life and even their means of existence. However, if the governments of the two republics come to an agreement, if the international community and great powers like

Russia and the United States of America solve this question, then, of course, the gangs can be subdued.

[Lomakin] My next question is about the situation in Nakhichevan and at the Nakhichevan border. According to reports by various agencies, an offensive on the Nakhichevan territory is being carried out by Armenia. The Armenian side claims that the opposite is true. Could you clarify the issue?

[Khikmetgadzhizade] Naturally, I share the opinion that an Armenian offensive is being carried out in Nakhichevan. Independent observers must determine the validity of claims made by both sides. It must be verified by correspondents who report from there.

Reports on the ruined town of Satarak in Nakhichevan, on the wounded and the killed, on the captured vantage points at the border between Armenia and Nakhichevan, from which Armenian armed formations shell the territory and mount raids—I think that the media must present such evidence directly to your viewers: who shoots who, who goes where, who suffers the most. It should not be difficult to figure it out.

[Lomakin] Geydar Aliyev, the head of the Nakhichevan Republic Majlis, maintains that Turkish troops will never cross the former USSR border and will never appear in Nakhichevan to repel armed attacks by Armenian armed formations. Do you think that this assertion is based on precise information or on wishful thinking?

[Khitmetgadzhizade] I have not heard this claim by Geydar Aliyev. I may comment on the claim made by Suleyman Demirel, who has said that at present moment, the crossing of border by Turkish troops may antagonize the international community. Meanwhile, there is time and a chance for a political solution to this question. However, if the aggression continues, the international community has ways to deal with it, as I have already mentioned. As for Geydar Aliyev's claim, I have not heard it.

[Lomakin] The next question interests me personally. We are talking about democratic developments in Azerbaijan, but as I understand it, Mutalibov, the lawfully elected president, was first removed from this post, than reinstated by the parliament, and removed again after a couple of days. How do you evaluate these events, especially since the president has been lawfully elected?

[Khitmetgadzhizade] We have very serious doubts about the lawfulness of his election. I would like to remind viewers that at the time, the elections were carried out in an emergency situation, with USSR troops stationed in Azerbaijan.

Second, he was not removed; the man resigned. Every person has this right. If the job is too hard, if you cannot handle it, if the burden is too great and the crown is too heavy, you may resign. He did, asking the parliament not to discuss his resignation. Nevertheless, his resignation was discussed. Then the parliament voted and accepted the resignation. He was seen off with a lot of respect; he got a large pension, material means, a house, a dacha and bodyguards, just like Mikhail Sergeyevich. This man became a simple citizen of the Republic of Azerbaijan. There are no mechanisms allowing such a citizen to become reinstated without holding general elections.

However, bending to the pressure of people known to us, the deputies—largely comprised of former communists, reinstated him. Mutalibov counted on popular support, on a sympathetic public, but this was not to be. He managed to hold out for only one day.

The next day there was a popular rebellion fired by indignation at such an act perceived as an insult to democracy. The whole city was indignant, and when a peaceful demonstration of about 500,000 people marched the streets and approached the parliament building, supporters of Mutalibov opened fire. One person was killed and three were wounded, but the demonstrators did not stop, they marched on, and the guards scattered. The demonstrators entered the parliament building, the parliament gathered once more, and seeing the popular sentiment, voted its previous decisions unconstitutional and unlawful.

I would like to comment further on this popular rebellion. According to democratic principles, people have the right to freedom, property, security, and resistance to oppression. All people have the right to resist oppression, which is the right to rebel against it. The law recognizes when the rebellion is a general one; this is precisely what it was.

At present, the former President Mutalibov is in Moscow. He has asked the parliament of the republic to allow him to visit Azerbaijan from time to time. This request is being examined.

I would also like to stress that no one intends to retaliate against anyone else in Azerbaijan. There is no such evil there, no signs of a civil war, and no anger. No one has been arrested; no one has been removed. The popularization of nonviolence promoted by the democrats has contributed a great deal to this. The Georgian experience has also contributed, as has the experience of other republics, among them Tajikistan. The situation in the city is normal, and there is no anger.

[Lomakin] I would like to conclude on this agreeable note. There might still be many questions, but since our time is limited, we have to stop here. On behalf of our viewers, I would like to congratulate you and all the Azerbaijani people on the occasion of this holiday. I would like to make the wish that all republics, including those that do not belong to the CIS, find a common language. Thank you again for coming to the studio.

Moldova's Tiu Meets With Kozyrev for Talks

Agree on Dniester Working Groups

AU0206190092 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Septimiu Roman report from Chisinau]

[Excerpt] At the end of today's meeting between Nicolae Tiu, the foreign minister of the Republic of Moldova, and Andrey Kozyrev, the foreign minister of the Russian Federation, the following communique was issued:

In a frank and constructive atmosphere, the sides examined issues regarding the easing of tension in the rayons on the left bank of the Dniester River of the Republic of Moldova and issues regarding Russian-Moldovan bilateral relations.

The meeting was aimed at urgently finding peaceful solutions to the conflict by blending measures of military detente with political settlement. Within this context, the ministers reasserted their agreement with the political methods of settling the conflict through the interaction of the four-way party mechanism—set up during the 6 April Chisinau meeting of the ministers of Russia, the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, and Romania. Likewise, the sides expressed concern over the fact that, for the time being, not all the recommendations of the 17 April four-way party meeting of the ministers have been fulfilled, especially measures regarding a cease-fire and separation of armed groups. The ministers decided to set up three working groups: to monitor the observance of cease-fire resolutions and the introduction into the buffer zone of the military observers of the four countries; to work on military issues and find solutions to problems regarding withdrawal of the 14th Army; and to work on political and legal aspects of the settlement of the conflict. It was agreed that the respective groups will carry out their activity with the participation of the conciliation commission and in close cooperation with the joint commission. Noting that it is beneficial to continue the practice of bilateral meetings, the ministers firmly spoke out for support of the existing four-way party mechanism to settle the conflict in the rayons on the left bank of the Dniester of the Republic of Moldova. The sides also agreed to urgently start negotiations on the entire system of bilateral relations on economic, political, military, and humanitarian issues, and issues of mutual interest.

The press bureau of the Government of the Republic of Moldova announced that today Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi received Rudolf Slansky, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Czechoslovakia to the Russian Federation, who is currently visiting the Republic of Moldova. After briefing Ambassador Slansky on the stage of implementing reforms in his country, Mr. Valeriu Muravschi said privatization is the weak spot of the economy of the Republic of Moldova, expressing his regret that one of the causes of delays in this area is the conflict opened on the left bank of the Dniester River by the separatist leaders in Tiraspol with the assistance of the pro-imperial forces. Prime Minister Muravschi emphasized the measures taken by the leadership of the Republic of Moldova to settle this conflict.

The sides also discussed other issues regarding economic and commercial cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and Czechoslovakia, among them, priority being given to actions of beginning advantageous bilateral cooperation.

The press bureau of the Moldovan Government also announces that Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi will leave on a tour of Turkey, where he is going to attend the international conference of the Black Sea basin countries. Then he will go to the United States, where he is going to sign an accord regarding commercial relations between the United States and the Republic of Moldova.

Today, the Republic of Moldova recognized by a presidential decree the Republic of Slovenia as an independent and sovereign state and will initiate negotiations at Foreign Ministry level to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries.

We remind our listeners that yesterday, 1 June, also by a presidential decree, the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina was recognized as an independent and sovereign state.

Relative calm, without fighting from the separatists' paramilitary forces, characterized the past 24 hours, reads a communique from the Republic of Moldova Defense Ministry. However, provocative firing with automatic weapons and artillery at the bridgehead near Cosnita and Cocieri was reported, but no casualties have been registered. Defenders of those positions did not respond to provocation and respected the provisions of the cease-fire agreement. [passage omitted]

Stresses Quadripartite Talks

OW0206183292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1809 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [2 June], the Russian and Moldovan foreign ministers began talks in Moscow on the armed conflict in the Dniester region.

Speaking on Moldovan radio earlier, Moldovan Foreign Minister Nicolae Tiu said that Russia had been trying to bar Romania and Ukraine from the quadripartite talks and conduct them on a bilateral basis.

Nicolae Tiu said that Moldova will insist on quadripartite talks, involving observers from the CSCE and other international organizations.

Bilaterals can only be conducted on the withdrawal of the 14th army from Moldova, the minister believes. As to the withdrawal proper, it should be carried out under the observation of representatives of other states. "We

cannot trust Russia in this issue, because such trust may entail serious consequences," he said.

Army Commander in Moldova Seen as 'Problem'

PM0206115392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 May 92 Morning Edition p 7

[Andrey Ostalskiy report: "Military Interference in Politics Must Be Stopped as Quickly as Possible"]

[Text] General Yuriy Netkachev, commander of the 14th Army, is out of luck. Journalists have contrived to endlessly distort and twist his words. The general, as if justifying the negative prefix of his surname ["ne" means "not"], is doing nothing but refute or reinterpret his own statements (or are they those ascribed to him?).

Judge for yourselves: If we are to believe press reports, the general initially explained away the appearance of his tanks at the Dniester Region guards' positions in Dubossary by saying that some of his subordinates had gotten out of control. He then insisted that he was in control of the situation, but explained the participation of armored vehicles in the war as being down to operations by outsiders—either the guards, or certain "assigned troops" [pripisniki]. Finally, it transpires from the general's latest statements that the tanks were moved out quite deliberately—with a view to protecting servicemen and their families. Incidentally, this too, it seems, was later denied....

On 26 May, ITAR-TASS and later REUTER and many newspapers around the world again quoted Yuriy Netkachev. The purport of these statements was that the 14th Army could, under certain circumstances, start acting independently, by decision of its military council. "There might be no other solution," the general allegedly said. However, on 27 June, an aide to the commander "categorically denied" this statement (or nonstatement?) of Netkachev's.

The general and his army have already become the main political problem in Russo-Moldovan relations. Chisinau has officially called its actions an "act of intervention." When they talk about a state of war existing between our two countries, there is a formal logic to it—if a foreign army is taking part in military operations on foreign territory, then....

It is absurd: On 27 June, the Russian president stated that the 14th Army would be withdrawn from Moldova, and on 28 June, Netkachev cast doubt on the possibility (if we are to believe Russian TV), saying that it would be "difficult." Who has ever heard of generals publicly arguing with their presidents?

Actually, we do know perfectly well where we have heard of this before. The Yugoslav crisis started with vocal statements by generals (followed by refutations of "false interpretations") and with active army interference in politics. This has had terrible results that are obvious to all. Everyone realizes that what is currently happening in Moldova could be a model, a prototype, for future conflicts between virtually all the CIS republics.

Despite all this, you have to sympathize with the position the 14th Army finds itself in—between the devil and the deep blue sea. Nor do I have any doubt that, indeed, withdrawing the Army would not be a simple matter. Any public statements by its commander turn into a political factor and, regrettably, an invariably negative factor which complicates the situation.

Unfortunately, our generals find it easy to argue about politics and to criticize politicians. First a high-ranking military man publicly accuses the Russian Government of being "over-enthusiastic" about the West to the detriment of the East. Then another causes an entire crisis in relations with Turkey because of a not very felicitous statement. Even the usually restrained Marshal Shaposhnikov could not refrain from criticizing the Russian Foreign Ministry. Apparently it is "too ready to say yes" in talks with our partners. Or take another example—the statement by the commander of the Pacific Border District, who at a stroke decided the highly complex question of our relations with Japan for both Yeltsin and the parliament. The disputed Kuril Islands would never be returned to Japan—end of story.

Is the 14th Army Military Council really going to decide whether or not there will be a war between Russia and Moldova?

We should not expect our military men to be orators, but nor should we allow the Army to do other people's jobs. If a general is not in control of his army, then he is no general. If he is participating in political intrigues and lying about it, then he is not a military man. Or he should not be.

More on Relations With, Policy on Yugoslavia

Thousands Demonstrate

LD0106204492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1853 GMT 1 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade June 1 TASS—Several thousand demonstrators held a meeting of protest against Russia's voting to impose sanctions against Yugoslavia in front of the Russian Embassy in Belgrade.

Demonstrators, claiming they are friends of Russia, warned Russia may face the fate of Serbia, which was accused of "aggression" after it took measures to defend Serbians living in other republics.

Participants of the meeting adopted different proposals. They addressed to the Russian leadership, demanding an immediate convocation of a new session of the UN Security Council. Demostrators also demand to impose

veto sanctions on Serbia and enforce sanctions against Germany "for its criminial policy resulting in the disintegration of Yugoslavia."

Role in Settlement Viewed

PM0206095392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 May 92 First Edition p 7

[Article by Vitaliy Buzuyev: "Could Yugoslavia Become CIS Member?"]

[Text] Have you ever noticed how politicians love schemes? Particularly old schemes that have been checked repeatedly. For instance, the following: The culprit in any two-sided conflict—international or interethnic—is always one of the sides. You only have to stick your head out and decide to name the culprit in order, of course, to punish him—states and people. Someone believe he has the right to judge another and someone hangs onto a prophet's words and, unable to formulate an idea of his own, accepts his recommendations.

There are not many now who lay claim to the role of the prophet. One simply has to be a superpower in the military and economic sense. There is no point in searching here. Take a look at the Capitol Hill.

To be honest, I sincerely sympathize with the U.S. soldiers who took part in the "Desert Storm" operation, believing that there was no way of punishing the aggressor other than using force against him. At the time everything was clear. For Western and Eastern democracy, Husayn embodied the forces of evil, the forces which should lose if only because a new world order had begun to be established. Naturally, it seemed to me, there are countries with which the consent of the world community, in the shape of the United Nations for instance, could quite well take the bull by the "horns" and punish an aggressor when all other means have already been used. It also seemed normal that the "world policeman," and it was mainly the United States that acted in that role, should have moral commitments toward each citizen of the world.

Here is a new situation: the events of recent days in Yugoslavia. The "world policeman" has again used the old scheme. It seemed to him that he had found a culprit, where in actual fact, one could not be found in the interethnic conflict that has flared up in the Balkans. Serbia has been named as the culprit.

Everything seemed to go without a hitch: Serbia had not withdrawn its troops from Bosnia, had clashed with the UN peacemaking forces, had halted transport facilities with humanitarian aid on its way to Bosnia, and so on and so forth. That is the scheme "came to life." Through Secretary of State J. Baker, the United States announced it did not intend to return its ambassador to Belgrade, that air communications with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are being closed, as are the Yugoslav consulates in New York and San Francisco. Then there is the most important thing. "If these measures do not take effect," J. Baker stressed, "then we may examine the question of the possible use of military force."

To preserve its "scheme", the United States has had to discard "inconvenient" arguments. The fact that Islamic formations blocked the barracks of the Yugoslav People's Army, which was already prepared to leave Bosnia, the fact that the Serbian community sounded the alarm over the fate of 6,000 Serbs who were in the regions of the cities of Livno and Odzak controlled by the Croatian detachments, and the fate of over 3,000 refugees kept under guard as hostages at a stadium, with dozens being arrested and transferred to prisons directly in Croatia. What is the result? Do the sanctions against Serbia justify Croatia's violations of human rights?

The trouble is that the interethnic conflict in Yugoslavia long since exceeded the boundary of what is permissible. Both sides have overstepped that boundary. The cold reason of a pragmatist cannot fit this situation into his customary scheme of right and wrong. That is the scheme which has been submitted for the world community's judgment. Serbian President Milosevic is already being compared by U.S. leaders with Saddam Husayn. However, in the opinion of many Western commentators, the United States has no direct practical interests in Yugoslavia and armed intervention is essential so that the world community can become accustomed to the idea of a "world policeman." Much good may it do.

Incidentally, the "scheme" for armed intervention has been supported by Germany, Austria, Britain, and recently Canada. Although, nonetheless, this means that the "chain of consent" is closed. It is well known, for instance that France and Greece are reserved about the idea of military intervention in the Balkan conflict. Finally, I hope that Russia has not said its last word. Although Kozyrev, according to recent reports, is inclined to bring diplomatic pressure to bear on Belgrade.

Let us recall, however, our country's stance in the CSCE when there was a discussion of the possibility of excluding Yugoslavia from the ranks of the countries taking part in the all-European process. Thanks to Russia, this proposal was rejected. Our country has stated its special approach toward the Yugoslav crisis. However, there is virtually no time left to work out what kind of an approach the Russian Foreign Ministry has.

I would even say that we are very late. I think the Russian Foreign Ministry made a mistake in not shaping its position with regard to the encroachment of the rights of Serbs and other peoples on the territory of the states of the former SFRY before A. Kozyrev's official visit to Croatia. After all, it would have been possible to use some experience from the recent past. Take for instance, the memorandum which our Foreign Ministry issued in Strasbourg at a session of the Council of Europe which discussed the defense of the rights of the Russian-speaking minority in the Baltic countries. The analogies are obvious.

With the introduction of sanctions against Serbia, the balance of interests in the Balkans is violated. The sanctions themselves will hardly lead to the conflict abating. Rather the reverse. As Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Serbian community in Bosnia, told REUTER, the United States and the EC risk generating an all-out Balkan war. Mention of military intervention will lead to Serbia's general mobilization, he believes.

Today it is from Russia, that a balanced step is expected. Its proposal could be, for instance, that UN observers be sent not only to the zone of armed clashes, but also to those regions of Croatia and Bosnia where national minorities are trying to defend their right to life.

If the "world policeman" is not prepared to fill the still empty niche of moral leader of the world community, why should Russia not do so? Who knows, perhaps what today seems the absurd idea of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia joining the CIS will become reality in a while? At any rate, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's orientation toward our Commonwealth and Russia is obvious.

Foreign Ministry on Sanctions

LD0306084192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0827 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Skripnikov]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—There is no other way to settle the conflict in Yugoslavia than to introduce international sanctions against it, a spokesman of the Russian Foreign Ministry told TASS on Wednesday [3 June].

He commented on recent official statements that the sanctions are "a gesture of despair of the world community, a sign of its inability to stop the conflict in the Balkans".

"It is not a gesture of despair, but a step to settle the crisis", Andrey Gribkov, head of the Yugoslavian department of the ministry said. The U.N. Security Council Resolution 757 requests all states to join the sanctions, and their support of them proves they believe the move will work, he added.

"It is too early to speak about the effectiveness of the sanctions. No one can say exactly what the result can be. The sanctions have just been introduced and they will not yield results in a day", Gribkov said.

Further Comments

OW0306142392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1335 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The motion of one of the leaders of the Russia group (an opposition group in the Russian parliament) that the parliament discuss Russia's decision to support the sanctions against Serbia at today's joint meeting of its two houses was nearly carried at a meeting of the Council of the Republic. A mere two votes were missing for this.

Baburin and his supporters were going to demand explanations for the reasons of the Russian ambassador to the UN for voting for the introduction of sanctions.

In an interview with DP [Diplomatic Panorama], the head of the Information and Press Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, said the Russian ambassador to the UN always acted on the basis of directives received from Moscow and never took his own decisions. The decision to support the world community's sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) had also been taken in Moscow.

It had precisely been the purpose of the Russian Foreign Minister's tour of all republics of former Yugoslavia to find a way to avoid such sanctions, Yastrzhembskiy stressed. A plan was worked out to resolve the conflict, above all in Bosnia and Hercegovina, but it "Went to pieces" a mere few hours after the Russian minister had left.

"It was this violation of the agreements reached that forced Russia to give its support to sanctions against Yugoslavia," Yastrzhembskiy said.

In his opinion, the sanctions "to some extent testify to the inability of the international community to settle the crisis by traditional diplomatic methods, without resorting to political pressure."

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Holds Briefing

LD0206141392 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1300 GMT 2 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jun—Russian President Boris Yeltsin will take part in the Istanbul summit of heads of state and government of Black Sea countries scheduled for 25 June. This was announced at the beginning of a briefing held 2 June by Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's information and press department.

On the recent talks between Russia and Latvia, Yastrzembskiy said that Russia has forwarded to Latvia an approximate timetable for a phased withdrawal of its armed forces, which began in March 1992 and will be completed no later than 1999. According to the timetable, the bulk of the forces will begin to pull out in 1995, after completion of the withdrawal from Germany and if the required infrastructure where they are to be newly deployed is in place.

Regarding the 26-27 May talks on bilateral relations between Russia and Lithuania, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy said the Lithuanians were demonstrably unprepared to

start negotiations. Their delegation, he added, lacked the appropriate experts. During the talks the Lithuanians stated that troop withdrawals are for them, an absolute priority, and that other issues "can wait." The Russians decided to go ahead with negotiations anyway, to continue with coordination of documents on withdrawal, and also, to agree on the procedure for future talks.

Responding to journalists' questions on Yugoslavia, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy confirmed that Russia supports the UN Security Council sanctions, and commented that the Russian Government "has sufficient strength, means, and possibilities to ensure proper implementation of these sanctions." He added that the search for a political solution to the Yugoslavia conflict will continue.

He announced that Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy will soon visit a number of Latin American countries. He then spoke about the forthcoming Russian-Ukrainian presidential summit in Dagomys.

Regarding the situation in Nakhichevan, the Russian Foreign Ministry's spokesman stated that Russia considers it to be part of Azerbaijan and welcomes any moves that might defuse tension in the region.

Kozyrev on Decision To Recognize Macedonia

OW3005000892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2011 GMT 29 May 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Reliable sources in the Russian Foreign Ministry told IF [INTERFAX] that Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev sent Friday [29 May] a message to Prime Minister of Greece Konstandinos Mitsotakis about his recent trip to Yugoslavia. During the trip Kozyrev visited the capital of Macedonia, Skopie.

The message says in particular "we have concluded that further delay in international recognition of Macedonia as an independent state can distabilize the situation not only in the republic, but in the whole southern region of Yugoslavia".

Kozyrev notes that the case in point is the recognition of Macedonia's present borders, i.e. historical borders of Macedonia as part of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

The minister points out that during the visit to Skopie the Russian delegation was assured by the Macedonian leadership that it has no territorial claims to Greece. "We received that confirmation and there is no sense in delaying the recognition", the message says.

In Moscow's view, currently there are exclusively favorable conditions for building good relations with Macedonia, a new state which by its geopolitical location and economic ties is oriented toward close relations with Greece. Kozyrev urged Athens to receive Russia's decision to recognize Macedonia with understanding.

In conclusion, the minister confirmed the sincere aspiration of the Russian leadership to develop comprehensive relations with friendly Greece.

Uzbek's President Karimov Arrives for Visit

LD2905230692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1839 GMT 29 May 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow, May 29 TASS—"Uzbekistan does not see its future without Russia," Uzbek President Islam Karimov said upon his arrival in Moscow on an official visit on Friday [29 May].

Karimov said he came to Moscow to sign a treaty of friendship and cooperation between Uzbekistan and Russia. Such treaties "are one of the real ways to strengthen the Commonwealth of Independent States" because they "create a basis for the development of bilateral cooperation within the Commonwealth," Karimov said.

He expressed confidence that the Commonwealth of Independent States has a future. "The Commonwealth is indispensable for everyone who is trying to get out of the crisis."

On Saturday [30 May], Karimov will meet with Russian President Boris Yeltsin to discuss relation between Uzbekistan and Russia and current problems in the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Treaty Signed; Yeltsin Comments

PM0206105192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jun 92 p 3

[Vitaliy Buzuyev report: "Dialogue Would Be Poorer Without Treaty"]

[Text] On 30 May, the presidents of Russia and Uzbekistan signed a treaty on the fundamentals of interstate relations, friendship, and cooperation. According to B. Yeltsin, the path to the treaty was not easy, repeated corrections were made to the positions of both sides, and they gradually drew closer.

Nonetheless, it is still hard to get accustomed to the fact that Russia and Uzbekistan are two different states. There is no sense of a division of interests. It was unusual to see the two leaders restoring, in such an official atmosphere, the economic and political ties disrupted after August 1991....

There are different approaches to the question of whether the CIS members must take the path of signing treaties, taking their cue from Western experience. A number of analysts believe that the conclusion of such treaties weakens or even totally undermines the very idea of the Commonwealth.

Boris Yeltsin believes that the signing of such treaties cannot attest to any crisis of the CIS. "On the contrary," he is convinced, "the states which play an active role in the CIS are dedicated to strengthening it and are making dynamic progress in the development of bilateral relations. One does not exclude the other but predetermines it." In direct regards to the treaty with Uzbekistan, in the Russian president's opinion, without this document the dialogue of the two countries would be considerably poorer, since a reliable legal basis for the development of mutually advantageous relations would be missing.

The fact that it is impossible as yet to guess how relations will actually shape up among the CIS countries is another matter.

There is another "but." Only at the level of the Russian and Uzbek presidents was it possible, for example, to reach agreement on resuming deliveries of cotton to the center of the Russian Federation's textile industry—Ivanovo, where factories have ended up virtually without raw material. B. Yeltsin and I. Karimov agreed on a schedule for deliveries and also decided their volume: The people of Ivanovo will receive 800,000 tonnes of cotton.

Of course, it is debatable whether this was down to the presidents. While the power structures in the countries of the former Union remain eroded and, at the same time, a normal infrastructure has not been created, the presidents have to act as go-betweens—and evidently will have to again—between lower levels.

Let us particularly note that, despite the word "friendship" recorded in the treaty, interethnic relations in Uzbekistan will hardly be cloudless. Although B. Yeltsin pointed out that the treaty with Uzbekistan envisages guarantees for the rights of the Russian-speaking population, there is reason to be anxious.

Which way are Russians to turn today if their rights are infringed?—I put this question to Russian Deputy Foreign Minister F. Shelov-Kovedyayev, who was present at the treaty signing ceremony. He replied that Russia already has an ambassador in Uzbekistan who will tackle these problems, and consulates will be opened.

In addition, F. Shelov-Kovedyayev remarked, there are other ways to protect the interests of ethnic minorities—for example, the creation of a joint parliamentary commission on human rights.

I would, however, like our government structures, and the Russian Foreign Ministry in particular, to be ready to react swiftly to every report of a violation of the rights of compatriots in nearby foreign parts. Such a practice has been adopted throughout the civilized world. If the treaty signed by B. Yeltsin and I. Karimov makes it possible in the future to cope with the resolution of this task at the negotiating table, by peaceful, legal means, this will mean that the leaders of Russia and Uzbekistan did not meet in the Kremlin in vain.

Karimov Cited on Treaty

PM0206111592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jun 92 pp 1-2

[Interview with Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov by special correspondent Vilor Niyazmatov in Moscow, 30 May 1992: "'Uzbekistan Does Not See Its Future Without Russia....'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The Treaty on the Fundamentals of Interstate Relations, Friendship, and Cooperation Between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Uzbekistan was signed on 30 May in the Kremlin. Uzbekistan People's Deputy Vilor Niyazmatov, PRAVDA's special correspondent, was a member of the Uzbekistan state delegation. At his request, directly after the signing of the treaty, Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov gave his first interview to PRAVDA.

[Niyazmatov] What does this treaty mean for Uzbekistan, Islam Abduganiyevich?

[Karimov] I would like to say first of all that this treaty is the further development and consolidation of the relations of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between Russia and Uzbekistan—relations which, as we know, have a long history and meet the fundamental interests of our peoples—and will undoubtedly serve the cause of peace and security.

I would like to believe that the historically important document we have just signed will be the starting point in qualitatively new equal, mutually advantageous, multifaceted, and deep relations between our two countries. All this is extremely important, bearing in mind that today the entry of each of the republics of the former USSR—nowadays sovereign and independent states—into the world community and the world economy is creating many severe problems. The interethnic and ethnic [mezhnatsionalnyye, etnicheskiye] conflicts in our former common home oblige us, the leaders, to elaborate unified approaches in economic, financial, banking, and credit systems. In other words, in signing the treaty we have in effect, laid the basis in international law for new relations between our two states. After all, it is no secret that in many spheres our relations are based on the old approaches and are essentially making no progress. Just take the disruption of economic links between our enterprises and individual regions.

[Niyazmatov] In this respect, Islam Abduganiyevich, please be so good as to focus your attention on the state of affairs in Ivanovo, Russia's textile country. Here, as is well known, an unfavorable situation has arisen because of a shortage of cotton raw materials. What prospects await Ivanovo's weavers with the signing of the present treaty? How quickly will it begin to "work" for them?

[Karimov] Figuratively speaking, our signatures have not yet had time to dry on the treaty and it has already begun to "work" in the interests of Ivanovo's weavers. Uzbekistan, starting literally from today, will begin to

deliver its valuable raw materials to Russia within fixed limits. I will say further that Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] and I have ordered the compilation of a rigid timetable for these deliveries, whose fulfillment will be under the strict control of both of us. I want to believe that this good start to the treaty will bring the desired results to the peoples of our two countries.

[Niyazmatov] How do you assess the treaty's significance with regard to the CIS, and the situation which has developed around the Commonwealth?

[Karimov] I assess it in the most positive way. The bilateral treaty—concluded for 10 years, incidentally—is one of the practical avenues in strengthening the CIS as such, since such an agreement not only does not prevent or obstruct the existence of the Commonwealth but, on the contrary, creates real grounds to strengthen it. I believe in the future of the CIS, for which the leaders of some states persistently predict failure, describing its existence as a myth, although they themselves were present at the creation. Yes, today the Commonwealth is having great difficulty in acquiring the momentum for lift-off. It is too heavily encrusted with the accretions of the past. Let us be frank: Some of our current decisions and steps are not the very best and are not helping matters either. Nevertheless, I am firmly convinced that the Commonwealth has a future for a very simple reason: It is needed by each one of us. Even those who with unwonted frivolity are ready to bury it. Our Commonwealth is needed for all of us to get out of the deadlock and crisis. For only the language of goodwill, equality, and concord, and not the language of dictat, will give citizens of the former USSR the possibility of gazing with hope and confidence on tomorrow, and building civilized, rule-of-law societies in their countries.

And today, more than ever before, the experience of mutual enrichment and of our multifaceted dialogue which we are accumulating together from day to day will enrich our reason, will help us to get to know one another better. I believe that the age-old wisdom of our peoples will, in the final analysis, firmly establish itself in our common home, and the hopes of the citizens of our countries for a peaceful and dignified life will finally become a reality.

[Niyazmatov] Russia and Uzbekistan have officially announced the formation of their own armed forces. Have relations in the military sphere been reflected in the treaty?

[Karimov] We decided to cooperate actively in ensuring the reliable defense of our states, keeping the CIS Strategic Armed Forces under joint command and collaborating in securing our borders. The territories of Russia and Uzbekistan will form a common military-strategic area. With the aim of ensuring reliable security and maintaining international peace, each side also grants the other the right to use the military facilities situated on their territories in cases of necessity on the basis of mutual agreement. A separate agreement will be concluded on all these questions.

[Niyazmatov] As is well known, Uzbekistan is home to a 3-million-strong Russian-speaking population. In what way will the present treaty affect their fate, and will it be a guarantee of their tranquillity far from their historical homeland?

[Karimov] According to the treaty, both states guarantee to persons residing on their territories, irrespective of their nationality, sex, language, or political or other convictions, political, social, economic, and cultural rights and freedoms in accordance with the generally recognized norms of international law. With these ends in mind, Uzbekistan and Russia will adopt legislative, administrative, and other necessary measures to prevent any discrimination against citizens on their territories. Separate treaties on legal aid for civil, family, and criminal affairs, a consular agreement, and other documents aimed at ensuring the defense of the rights of citizens residing on the territory of the other side will be adopted.

[Niyazmatov] Until recently, Russia, it can be said, was to some extent, the crucible in which specialists in many sectors of the national economy and scientific cadres were forged. Thousands of citizens of Uzbekistan have studied, and indeed are studying now, in many Russian higher education establishments. Will this practice be maintained in the future, and is it reflected in the treaty?

[Karimov] Yes, Uzbekistan will continue to develop cooperation in the sphere of education, science, and technology. The priorities will be direct links between the two countries' academic establishments and scientific research and planning and design institutions. In short, favorable conditions are being created for the training of cadres and the exchange of scientists, specialists, graduates, and students. I would like to draw attention to the following extraordinary element: Diplomas of education and academic titles and degrees will be recognized equally in the two countries.

[Niyazmatov] Will the borders of the two negotiating sides be "transparent"?

[Karimov] We intend to continue to support the openness of our borders and to take the necessary measures to ensure the free entry, exit, and movement of citizens on the territory of the two countries.

[Niyazmatov] What in your view is the role of the press and the mass media in the practical implementation of our treaty and in consolidating the CIS?

[Karimov] First of all I would like to speak of my personal attitude toward the press. It is on the whole, positive. I value the journalist's labor with respect according to its worth, if of course it is constructive. I have a normal attitude toward criticism of the constructive variety. I do not say this for effect. Recently, individual newspapers and television programs, when

speaking of Uzbekistan, have, as if by arrangement, been trying to muddy the waters and mislead public opinion in other states with various stories and fables. At the same time, they stubbornly refuse to see the positive. To see that the citizens of Uzbekistan live in our far from easy times in relative tranquillity, and that shots are not being heard and blood is not running in our streets, thank God.

To be fair, I should give PRAVDA its due for its objectivity and, if I can put it like this, its "decency" with regard to Uzbekistan.

I am firmly convinced that the practical implementation of our treaty will depend in no little degree on the mass media of our two countries. If they become allies of this treaty, help the leaders of the two states "to shed light" on the bottlenecks in the implementation of the treaty, and set their critical sights on those who hinder us from making progress, then such journalists will be rewarded with expressions of gratitude from the peoples of our countries.

[Niyazmatov] I think that journalists will respond to this call, but how will the two sides monitor the fulfillment of the treaty at government level? After all, as the saying goes, the distance from the adoption of such a document to its execution is enormous.

[Karimov] Boris Nikolayevich and I have an accord to create mixed bilateral commissions to monitor the execution of our treaty. This will be a standing commission [singular as published] with the appropriate legal and administrative rights. Thus it can be said that the mechanism for the treaty's operation in the initial stages is already determined.

[Niyazmatov] What message would you like to convey to Russia and its people through PRAVDA, Islam Abduganiyevich?

[Karimov] Above all, I wish for peace and concord on Russian soil. I wish the citizens of Russia in these difficult days patience and courage. As for Uzbekistan, Russia can be confident of seeing in that country a reliable partner and friend. Expressing the will of our citizens, I affirm that Uzbekistan does not see its future or its prospects without friendship with Russia. For us, Russia is the guarantor of stability and peace in our region and the inviolability of our borders.

I fully agree with the Russian president when he says that the day of the conclusion of our treaty can be boldly marked in the calendar as a red-letter day.

[Niyazmatov] Thank you for the interview, Islam Abduganiyevich. May the treaty which Boris Nikolayevich and you have signed be the first swallow in the new and equitable relations between our two independent states!

Yastrzhembskiy on Lithuania, Latvia Talks

OW0206134292 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1307 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a news briefing today (June 2), the head of the Information Department in the Russian Foreign Ministry, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, said very little progress had been made at the latest (May 26-7) round of Russian-Lithuanian negotiations in Moscow. He claimed the Lithuanian delegation had been unprepared to conduct a constructive dialogue on a wide range of economic and humanitarian problems. In his opinion, one of the reasons for this was the absence of high-ranking statesmen in the Lithuanian delegation, such as deputy parliament chairman Ceslovac Stankevicius or vice-premier Zigmas Vaisvila who had been expected to come but never did. What, in Yastrzhembsky's view, mainly explained the absence of any significant progress at the negotiations was the Lithuanians' focus on the withdrawal of Russian troops from their country. He confirmed the reports to the effect that a group of Russian military experts would soon go to Vilnius to negotiate some technical aspects of the withdrawal of the Russian troops.

Yastrzhembskiy made a similar assessment of Russia's negotiations with Latvia which also took place at the end of May. He said that, according to the Russian schedule, the bulk of the Russian forces (255 units) was to leave Latvia in 1995-99. The Latvian delegation, he said, had been warned that Latvia would be held responsible for the consequences of any attacks on Russian servicemen serving in Latvia.

More on South African President's Visit

'Deeply Satisfied' With Talks

LD0206191292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1747 GMT 2 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Kondratenko]

[Text] St. Petersburg June 2 TASS—Russia will play an increasingly important role in the world development in future, South Africa's President Frederik de Klerk said in St. Petersburg on Tuesday [2 June].

Now that both countries have passed through the years of futile ideological experiments and established diplomatic ties, they have to strengthen friendship and bilateral cooperation, de Klerk said.

St. Petersburg Vice-Mayor Vyacheslav Shcherbakov said de Klerk's visit begins a new stage in relations between Russia and South Africa. "We are deeply satisfied with the results of the talks in Moscow and are ready for a dialogue at a regional level," Shcherbakov said.

De Klerk said he liked the city and may visit it again.

In the evening, the president left for Tokyo.

Interviewed on Visit

LD0206170492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1530 GMT 2 Jun 92

["Unscheduled" video interview with Frederik de Klerk, president of the Republic of South Africa, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. President, this is your first visit to Russia. Could you have imagined such a thing a few years ago, when Soviet newspapers were full of caricatures of the Republic of South Africa [RSA] Government, and wrote about you as a servant of imperialism?

[De Klerk] Of course, such a visit could hardly have been foreseen, either by you here or by us in South Africa, because at that stage, when you were drawing caricatures of us, we in South Africa saw Russia as a country interfering in our internal affairs and supplying arms to all the countries of Africa, arms that were used by terrorists against innocent South African citizens. Yes, just a few years ago we were enemies. The most remarkable thing is the fact that fundamental changes have taken place, both in your country and in my country. Your country is no longer communist, aspiring to extend its influence throughout the world, and my country is no longer a bastion of apartheid, in which racial discrimination used to exist on the basis of skin color. Since the two main causes of our past conflicts have disappeared, we can now be friends.

[Correspondent] By the way, the idea of the visit—who first had the idea, you or us—the Russians, or both?

[De Klerk] This idea first arose during meetings at a working level, when individual representatives of our countries were establishing the first contacts with one another, which were followed by unofficial visits and then by visits at ministerial level. Finally, we exchanged formal invitations to one another. I am the first to take up this opportunity, and now I am looking forward to a visit by Mr. Yeltsin to South Africa, as it is already well known that he has accepted our invitation.

[Correspondent] You have had many meetings and conversations here in Moscow, including one at summit level. What can you say about the results?

[De Klerk] Primarily I would like to say that we have been warmly welcomed here. I highly appreciate this, just as I am very grateful to ordinary Russians for being so friendly to us. As concerns the talks in Moscow, they were constructive. We concentrated on the present and the future and not on the past, because in both countries we firmly intend to correct the mistakes of the past and to look to the future in order to build a better life for our peoples.

[Correspondent] With regard to cooperation, in your opinion in which areas could it be most productive?

[De Klerk] It is perfectly obvious—in the trade and economic sphere—in which talks have already been held on the main principles. Now we should formally conclude an agreement and implement it as a law, which I hope will take place very soon, just as in the sphere of civil aviation. There is provision for cooperation in the sphere of modern technology and in mastering the Antarctic. We will also grant you credit toward developing reciprocal trade.

[Correspondent] The last question, on internal problems. Do you have a precise date for handing over power to the black majority?

[De Klerk] No, it would be unwise to do that, because the transfer of power may occur in the first instance to a newly elected government on the basis of a newly adopted constitution. Only then, when we reach agreement on the constitution, will we have an opportunity of setting a precise time-scale for the handover of power. I cannot even predict when we will reach such an agreement. However, if the African National Congress breaks off the talks over the coming two or three months, this process will become protracted. If they join the talks, it will come about sooner. Thank you.

PLO Envoy Denies Terrorists Reports

PM0106154392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 May 92 p 3

["Own Information" report: "They Got the Wrong People"]

[Text] A few days ago NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA published on its front page the sensational news of the arrest in St. Petersburg of either three or four Palestinian students who were allegedly preparing a series of terrorist acts against a number of West European states' consulates.

We telephoned the Palestinian State's representatives in the Russian Federation and asked them to comment on the story about the extremist Palestinian students who, instead of studying the strength of materials and pharmacology, are preparing to throw bombs at foreign diplomats. They replied to us saying that the report in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA does not correspond to the facts and voiced a protest against insinuations of this kind. A counselor from the embassy, as well as a group of Palestinian and Arab journalists, quickly flew out to the scene of events in St. Petersburg. We have been promised that the Palestinian diplomat will, on his return, share with PRAVDA the information which, so to speak, has been gained at first hand.

The same day Mr. Sa'id Abu-'Imarah, charge d'affaires ad interim and ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the Palestinian Embassy, telephoned the editorial office.

"The information which NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has disseminated is unconfirmed," he informed us. "Our

diplomat told us over the telephone that there are neither Palestinians nor even Arabs among those arrested. Those detained are Kurds. An official statement by the St. Petersburg security services will later clarify the exact charges filed against them."

Federation Affairs

Deputy Prime Minister Chubays' Background Noted

LD0206173892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Jun 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Anatoliy Chubays has become a new vice prime minister. Previously, he worked for the Russian State Committee for the Management of State Property. Anatoliy Borisovich Chubays, 37, is a candidate of economic sciences and a senior lecturer. He worked at the Leningrad engineering-economic institute until 1990. Two years ago, he became first deputy chairman of the Leningrad City Executive Committee. He headed the work to create in Leningrad the infrastructure of a market economy and was chief economic adviser to the city's mayor. Last November, he became chairman of the Russian State Committee for the Management of State Property.

Chubays Says Reshuffle in Line With Reform

LD0206174992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1703 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] The reshuffling in the Russian Government is in line with the decision of the Congress of Russian People's Deputies which voted to reinforce the country's leadership with people having ample life experience, Anatoliy Chubays, Russian vice-prime minister, said on Tuesday [2 June].

Speaking at a news conference, Chubays said "I would not describe it as a deviation from the chosen course of reforms." Chubays expressed concern about the growing resistance of parliamentary opposition factions which torpedoed the governmental plan of privatisation. They demanded that enterprises be handed over to their employees and called for the abolition of all inscribed privatisation accounts.

Further on Remarks

OW0206224992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Newly appointed Vice Prime Minister, Chairman of the Russian Committee on State Property Anatoliy Chubays does not feel that the recent changes in the Russian government are a deviation from the course of economic reform. He said that the removal of 40 year old Vladimir Lopukhin from the post of Minister of Fuel and Energy and appointing the former Minister of the Gas Industry of the Soviet Union Vladimir Chernomyrdin is only an indication of the tendency to increase the number of leader-pragmatists in the government.

The Vice Prime Minister added that he personally would not in any way characterize these appointments as a deviation from the course of economic reforms". Chubays is certain that this will not occur.

Chubays said the matter is one of correcting the course of radical and profound economic reform in light of complications in "which have encountered in realizing this course."

More on News Conference

LD0206220292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Video report by correspondent T. Khudobina on news conference given by Russian Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays in Moscow on 2 June—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] At a meeting with journalists today, Anatoliy Chubays confirmed that everyone in our country will have the chance to become an owner by the end of the year. However, that will happen only if parliament endorses the government's privatization program, which has been submitted for its second reading. [video shows news conference scenes, bust of Lenin]

Under the pressure of public opinion, substantial modifications have been made to the program. The work force is given the right to purchase, without competition or auction, 51 percent of the shares—the controlling package, in other words, which will insure full control of the enterprise's property. At the end of the year, it is planned to open personal privatization accounts as well. We will be able to purchase shares in any enterprise we like, whether it be VAZ [Volga Motor Vehicle Works] or GUM [State Department Store]. We can sell our privatization share [dolya] and receive money. Finally, we can invest our share in the investment fund, entrusting it to people who are able to insure an income for us. [video shows factory scenes]

However, all this will happen only if parliament endorses the program. Some deputies are in an intransigent mood, demanding that enterprises' property should be handed over only to those who work at them—to the work force. In other words, the property of big enterprises will not reach the market in the form of shares, and there will be nothing for people outside the factory premises to purchase. There will be no need for privatization checks or for our participation in privatization. Anatoliy Chubays called all this an attempt to revert to the mentality of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

[Chubays] We need not hundreds of millionaires, but millions of owners. The scheme that is proposed to us means essentially that exactly half the population of our

country will be completely excluded from the privatization process. [video shows close-up of Chubays speaking]

Shumeyko Appointment Considered 'Superior'

LD0206182992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1558 GMT 2 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 2 TASS—Vladimir Shumeyko, nominated first deputy Russian Government chairman, will be superior to recently appointed Vice-Premiers Georgiy Khizha (in charge of the industry and space issues) and Viktor Chernomyrdin (in charge of the fuel and energy complex), head of the government staff Alexey Golovkov told ITAR-TASS.

Vladimir Shumeyko was born in 1945. He became a Russian parliament member after being the general director of the Krasnodar measurement equipment plant. In 1990 Shumeyko was elected Russian people's deputy from the Krasnodar national-territorial district N17 of the Krasnodar region.

While in the Supreme Soviet, Shumeyko was deputy chairman of the Committee on the Economic Reform Issues and Property, chairman of the Commission on Legislative Provision of the Russian President's decrees, head of the operative group to coordinate the activities of people's deputies councils on the solution of economic and social problems and head of the anti-crisis group of the Russian Supreme Soviet.

In November, 1991, he became deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. Officially, he is not a member of any parliamentary faction.

Vladimir Shumeyko, candidate of technical sciences, is president of the Russian Confederation of Entrepreneurs' Unions. He has two daughters and a grandson. Shumeyko is a fishing fan, still, in his words, he does not have enough time to do it.

The nomination of Shumeyko did not come as a surprise. Back during the 6th Congress of Russian People's Deputies in late March, Yeltsin in his speech promised to nominate a cabinet member one of the parliamentary high-ranking officials. The president gave to understand this person will be in charge of the industrial issues.

Observers believed already at that time this person will be Vladimir Shumeyko.

Shumeyko Interviewed on Policy

OW0206201292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1941 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with IF [INTERFAX], his first interview in his new capacity, Vladimir Shumeyko, who has today (June 2) been appointed First Vice-Premier by presidential decree, made it clear that he was going to make no serious changes in the government's policy of reform. The majority of cabinet members, he said, "know where they are going and what is to be done." At the same time, he remarked that "nobody knows socialist economics because nobody has ever studied it except those who have spent a lifetime in it." Shumeyko expressed support for the parliament's proposal that the value-added tax be reduced. A document, he said, was ready in the parliament stipulating for a 7% reduction in the value-added tax for food and a 28% reduction for other goods.

Fuel prices should be raised gradually, he thought. He added that Yeltsin took the same view.

Shumeyko said he was above all going to make changes in industrial administration. In his opinion, all major state enterprises should be made joint-stock companies, although "their form of ownership should not be changed and the privatization program should not be canceled." Changing forms of ownership in this period, when a market economy is being formed, would take too long.

"The parliament leaders were sorry I was transferred into the government," Shumeyko said. But he stressed that he was not going to sever his contacts with committees and commissions in the parliament." He said he would represent the government in the parliament.

Chernomyrdin's Appointment, Background Viewed

OW0106203492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1840 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Yeltsin appointed Viktor Chernomyrdin, as Vice-Premier of the Russian government last Saturday [30 May].

IF [INTERFAX] note: Viktor Chernomyrdin, 54, oil and gas engineer; worked as a director of an oil refinery. From 1978 through 1982 he was a staff member of the CPSU CC's [Central Committee's] apparatus, held the post of radio industry minister; in 1985, he was appointed USSR gas industry minister, subsequently, the Board President of the "Gazprom" concern since 1989. Member of the Russian Engineering Academy since 1990; married; has two adult sons.

The senior son is an engineer in Russia's oil extraction industry; the junior is a college student in Moscow.

The President dismissed fuel and energy Minister Vladimir Lopukhin on May 30. The resignation follows pressure on the President from the opposition in parliament" the government's economics adviser Aleksey Ulyukayev said. Political groups in the Russian parliament have long had objections to Lopukhin's policies, he said.

At the same time Uliukayev said that in the government the ex-minister had rather strong positions. He was supported by industrial managers and workers of the fuel and energy complex.

Uliukayev said that Lopukhin's; successor, Viktor Chernomyrdin is not an interim figure.

Chernomyrdin on Oil Export Monopoly

OW0206205092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1943 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] One of the first steps the new Russian Vice Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin, who is responsible for the fuel-energy complex, will take is to establish a state monopoly on oil export, a high ranking expert in the Gasprom concern, which Chernomyrdin chairs, told "IF" [INTERFAX]. At present Russian oil mining firms can sell up to 20% of the oil they obtain.

The expert said the fuel and energy complex is concerned because "some organizations in Tyumen have signed export contracts through 1993".

The expert said that the establishment of a state monopoly "may cause dissatisfaction" among oil mining enterprises, and the administration of the Tyumen district, which obtained the right to sell up to 10% of the oil mined on its territory to foreign nations.

Further on Plans

OW0206233192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2001 GMT 2 Jun 92

[From the "Interfax Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian government plans to tighten controls on the country's oil-extraction complex, which accounts for a large portion of Russia's export revenues. Viktor Chernomyrdin, appointed to the post of Vice Prime Minister by Boris Yeltsin after Vladimir Lopukhin's resignation, may make the first move by concentrating Russian oil exports in the hands of specialized state organizations, authoritative experts at the Gazprom gas concern, still chaired by Mr. Chernomydrin, told Interfax.

The government is expected to make significant cuts in the number of businesses holding quotas and licenses to export oil, while the rights of directors of Russian oil-extraction associations and regional administrations to sign export agreements will be curtailed.

Experts do not rule out the possibility that de facto establishment of a state monopoly on oil exports will foster discontent among oil associations and particularly in the Tyumen regional administration, which a few months ago received rights to sell up to 10% of its oil free of government control. Experts say that waves of strikes by oil workers could cross the region. The appointment of Mr. Chernomyrdin received unexpected support from Yuriy Shafrannik, head of the Tyumen regional administration, who had previously supported Vladimir Lopukhin.

Oil specialists believe that the replacement of the director of the nation's fuel and energy industry also reflects increased Presidential control over the sector's investment policy. Oil and gas extraction enterprises will also be forced to reconcile themselves to Boris Yeltsin's move to postpone time schedules for deregulating oil and gas prices. In an appeal to employees of the oil and gas complex, Mr. Yeltsin stressed that immediate deregulation of oil and gas prices could mean economic disaster for the country. He admitted that deregulation was essential, but said that the process should not be instantaneous.

New Deputy Prime Minister Khizha Profiled

MK2805094492 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No 22, 27 May-2 Jun 92 p 2

[Mariya Bogatykh article under "New Appointment" rubric: "Khizha the Unknown"]

[Text] Georgiy Stepanovich Khizha has been appointed deputy prime minister of Russia. The president kept his promise to include in the government "experienced (intelligent, knowledgeable, and so forth) production workers"—this expression has not stood the test of time, but observers are unanimous in viewing the essence of it as a concession by Boris Yeltsin and the government to certain forces—namely the military-industrial complex and the leaders of related industrial enterprises. Even among supporters of the government's course opinions vary from optimistic hopes of constructive dialogue to gloomy presentiments about the military-industrial complex's increasing influence over the president.

To a certain extent the situation can be attributed to the personality and rise of the new vice premier himself. It is common knowledge that he is a doctor of technical sciences and for many years worked at the renowned "Svetlana" Production Association, rising to become its director, and was president of the Association of Industrial Enterprises. His most recent post was first deputy mayor of St. Petersburg.

People who know Khizha well describe him as a man not given to intrigues, ready for action, and prepared to take chances, but also a cautious, unusually diligent, tough man who likes authoritarian methods of leadership. He belongs to the generation of the end of Khrushchev's thaw, a generation known both for its dreamy notion of opposition and respect for power and the ideals of socialism.

Georgiy Stepanovich's appointment to the post of vice premier is thought to be linked to the "Sobchak, Vice Mayor Shcherbakov, First Deputy Mayor Khizha" conflict in St. Petersburg and the St. Petersburg Soviet session in March which is viewed as a trial run for a

comeback by conservative forces before the recent congress of people's deputies. The reform and those responsible for creating and implementing it were anathematized, and Sobchak harshly criticized Gaydar and his team. It was a surprise to everyone when Khizha supported the Russian Government and even drastic reforms in the military-industrial complex with, admittedly, certain reservations and a call not to destroy the existing industrial structures. Consequently he forfeited the love and support of everyone who wanted Gaydar's demise and freed the hand of the supporters of preperestroyka managers like Shcherbakov who were ready from that moment on to get rid of Georgiy Stepanovich anywhere at all, even to the post of vice premier.

The future will not be very easy for the new vice premier because he has no real support that a politician needs in any of the existing camps. Except among members of the most radical section of the military-industrial complex.

It remains to be seen how the uncompromising Khizha will work with the cantankerous Gaydar.

Barannikov Removes Officers From Security Posts

LD0206194192 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1757 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jun (ITAR-TASS)— Russian Security Minister Viktor Barannikov has prepared an order removing a group of high-ranking generals and officers of the ministry's top echelons from their posts and immediately dismissing them from the security bodies. They include the present head of counterintelligence.

This is as a result of activity by the commission created on the initiative of the minister in connection with a number of violations and abuses committed by high-ranking officials who transferred to the newly created ministry from the structures of the former USSR KGB.

Some of the materials of the internal investigation may be handed over to the procurator. Judging by everything, this is only the first blow by the new leadership of the Russian security bodies against circles of corruption, which the Russian president also made passing reference to recently. Some sources note that because there is open discussion of the abuses committed by top officials, this is a precedent for the tightly closed security system, and it may cause a particular reaction in certain circles of that system. However, there is no doubt that the rank and file operational staff fully supports the radical actions by the new leadership of the Russian Ministry of Security.

Yeltsin Orders Poll on People's Congress

PM0206115192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jun 92 First Edition p 2

[Dmitriy Fedorov report under "Call to Editorial Office" rubric: "President Throws Down Gauntlet to Congress?"]

[Text] It would appear that the intention to hold a referendum on the issues of land and the Constitution has finally matured in Russian President Boris Yeltsin's camp.

In favor of this conclusion is the fact that, according to reports received by the editors, an order has been issued from the president's chancellery for sociologists (and the appropriate funds are allocated to them) to conduct immediately, over three-four days, an all-Russian public opinion poll. The aim of the poll is to discover the attitude of the Russian Federation's population toward the president's idea of removing the Congress of People's Deputies from the country's political life. In particular, one of the questions to be asked runs as follows: "Do you trust the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet which is formed by it to adopt decisions, without consultation with the Russian Federation president or without approval through a nationwide vote, on the questions of the Constitution, election legislation, and the right to land ownership?"

Relatively new here is the fact that, whereas before the president said that the congress prevents him from carrying out radical economic reform, now he considers—if the reports reaching the editors are to be believed—that the Supreme Soviet also hinders him. The question arises: Will there be anyone hindering reforms after the abolition of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet? Probably it will be the people themselves.

Yeltsin Appeal to Oil, Gas Workers Published

PM0206161392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Jun 92 First Edition p 1

["B. Yeltsin Appeal to Russian Federation Oil and Gas Extraction Complex Workers, Engineers, Technicians, and Employees"; date not given]

[Text] Esteemed oilmen and gas extraction workers!

A critical situation has developed in your sector in recent months. Numerous appeals to me from labor collectives contain words of great concern at enterprises' financial and economic situation. Under present conditions it is becoming increasingly difficult to ensure stable operations and fulfill the state's orders. There is growing discontent at the disruptions of everyday life, high prices, and constant delays in wage payments.

Transformations in the economy do not come easy. Today everybody has to make sacrifices. But they are not pointless. If we hold out we will succeed in stabilizing the economy, stop the decline in production and the people's living standard, and overcome the highly acute crisis.

Oil and gas are the foundation of the Russian economy. Without their non-stop production the country simply grinds to a halt. The sharp reduction in extraction of these resources has already led to considerable complications in power generation, transportation, and agriculture. Agreements to supply the external market with oil, gas, and products from processing them are not being

met. As a result the country is experiencing a shortfall in foreign currency revenue, a considerable proportion of which is spent on buying consumer goods, grain, and food from other countries.

Demands by oilmen and gas extraction workers to completely deregulate the prices of energy inputs have been becoming increasingly insistent recently. There are substantial grounds for these demands, especially since this is one of the few groups of commodities whose prices continue to be state-controlled.

The government considers that oil and gas prices need to be decontrolled, but not all at once, not all at the same moment. That would cause tremendous damage to the country and all working people, including those who work in the oil and gas complex.

To liberalize prices right now would mean to allow a sharp leap in prices for all commodities, including primary essentials and food. Expensive oil means expensive bread, milk, and other products indispensable to your families too. For people already in difficulties this blow would be unsustainable. To deregulate prices all at the same moment would mean to allow labor incentives for purchasers of oil and gas to be lost. The goods they produce would prove so expensive that there would be no possible demand for them. Deregulating prices now would hit agricultural producers.

In the final analysis all this would not only hit the pockets of ordinary workers in the oil and gas industry and wipe out the value of their wages. The main point is that the situation in the country could get out of control as a result of such a mistake. Then at the very least there would be chaos. No way can we allow this.

In seeking to rectify the situation in the fuel and energy complex, and proceeding from the possibilities available to the state, the Russian Federation Government considered it possible to provide oilmen and gas workers with the necessary support. May has seen an increase in prices for energy inputs, the adoption of a decision to allocate credits to the oil and gas extraction complex, and the preparation of proposals to exempt from tax the proportion of profit channeled into the development of production and the social sphere and also to transfer new oil and gas deposits to oil and gas extraction associations.

The question of covering the wage payment debt has been examined. Despite certain difficulties this problem will be solved as early as this July.

My decree on the retention of enterprise status for oil and gas extraction associations will considerably enhance their role in coordinating the activity of this complex. A number of other government decisions which have been adopted make provision for stabilizing the operation and developing enterprises in the fuel and energy complex and strengthening their financial and economic situation.

Provision is being made for involving the defense complex in providing the fuel and energy sectors with machine-building output and modernizing oil refineries.

A working document on preparatory work for price liberalization has been signed.

Problems which have accumulated over years cannot be resolved in a single hour. I ask you to display an understanding attitude to these decisions. I believe that you will find the possibility and strength, with the full support of the government, to overcome the difficulties which exist and ensure the smooth operation of Russia's national economy.

Gorbachev Accused of 'Triggering Tensions'

LD0206142192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1400 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Moscow June 2 TASS—Russian presidential spokesman made a statement on Tuesday [2 June] accusing former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev of triggering tensions in Russia.

"Lately, former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev have made several statements in Russia and foreign countries on the situation in the country, the pace of economic reforms and state development.

"The president of the Russian Federation has always shown understanding for the demand of the head of the fund bearing his name to express his point of view on political problems, proceeding from the understanding that these statements should serve to the benefit of Russia, reveal weak points of reforms and help overcome them.

"However, recently these statements and forecasts began exceeding the powers of the ex-president. Statements by Gorbachev, who failed to master courage to begin economic reforms during his six years in power, sound like instructions to the government and the president who are taking real steps to reform the state.

"In addition, some of Gorbachev's recent statements can be viewed as an attempt to heighten political tension, as destabilisation of the social and political situation in the country.

"At the time when the country and people are taking courageous efforts to overcome the chaos and ruins inherited by the country, such a position of a statesman, who apparently knows what restraint and loyalty are, causes bewilderment.

"The feeling of responsibility before the country and the Russian people force the president of the Russian Federation to draw the attention of Gorbachev to the danger and inadmissibility of such statements. For the purpose of preserving stability in the country and the political course chosen by the people, Boris Yeltsin will have to take the necessary and lawful steps in order that reforms are not hampered".

Gorbachev Reacts to Statement

LD0206212192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2000 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Interview with former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev by correspondent Petr Fil at the Gorbachev Fund offices on 2 June; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Gorbachev] I think this statement by Yeltsin's press secretary merits a serious response. The first thing that comes into my head is that it was done without the knowledge of the president, because I can hardly imagine it at all ties in with the thoughts, appraisals, and plans of the president. And I am especially of this opinion because the whole spirit, if you like, of my interview with KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA consists of the fact that in the face of very serious processes and very serious problems that require the appropriate reaction, we must not let the reform front disperse in all directions. It must unite all the reform forces in the country, in Russia, in order to cope with these challenges and problems.

What is very important for us now is the stabilization of Russia, of the situation in Russia, and the success of reform in Russia. This will depend on not only how things go in the future in Russia with the democratic transformations, but also how things go in the Commonwealth of countries of the former Soviet Union, and how things will be in Europe and in the world.

It is necessary to keep one's self-awareness and be analytical, especially as these proposals come from a person who has a great interest in everything going ahead. [video shows Gorbachev seated at a desk]

Further on Gorbachev Reaction

PM0306110792 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jun 92 p 1

[Own information report: "Overstepped the Mark? Two Statements on One Topic"]

[Text] The press secretary to the president of the Russian Federation yesterday disseminated an official statement saying that former USSR President M.S. Gorbachev has recently been making more frequent statements abroad and in Russia concerning the country's internal situation, the course of the economic reforms, and problems of state building. They have begun to go beyond the ex-president's competence. A sense of responsibility to the country and the Russian people obliges the president of the Russian Federation to draw M.S. Gorbachev's attention to the dangerous and intolerable nature of his statements.

In the evening we telephoned Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev: "Having familiarized myself with the statement by the Russian president's press secretary," he said, "I must point out that I have nothing to add to what I said in my KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA interview. Everything I said is being borne out. I regret that the president has reacted in this way. Such statements remind me of the worst times. I believe that the president, the government, and all reformist forces must act together today in the interests of advancing the reforms, because we all have very little time. I hope that this is what the president will do. I regard all fabrications, panic, and threats as unacceptable to me and, what is more, I resolutely condemn them."

Defense Minister Grachev Interviewed

LD3105151992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1120 GMT 31 May 92

[Studio interview with Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, by Ostankino Television correspondent Andrey Skryabin, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent Lyudmila Telen, and GOSPODIN NAROD correspondent Igor Yakovenko in Moscow; from the "Live Dialogue" program—live]

[Text] [Telen] I think it would be best to start with the most important questions which concern not only the inhabitants of Russia, but also all those living in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Let us start with the worst hotspots—the situation with the 14th Army, the situation in the Dniester region. It seems to me that the explanations offered on the subject of the 14th Army have to a large extent failed to shed any light on the situation. Besides, the Russian president has announced the withdrawal of the 14th Army from the Dniester region whereas, as far as I know, the military considers that this decision is not so much wrong but rather difficult to carry out today. I would like us to look at the situation with the 14th Army as a model.

Pavel Sergeyevich, could you please tell me what your view is? Is the military leadership today absolutely clear about the political tasks which the Russian leadership has imposed on them in various regions, particularly in the Dniester region? Second, can the Army be used in any way for internal tasks within the CIS?

[Grachev] Thank you. Good day, esteemed television viewers. Replying to the question about the 14th Army, presently the most complicated and topical issue indeed, I would like to clarify the following: Russian President Boris Yeltsin has indeed taken a decision to withdraw the 14th Army—not just the 14th Army but also other units and formations from various regions of the so-called hot spots. However, it does not mean that the 14th Army will be withdrawn from Moldova immediately. First and foremost, it is necessary here to resolve political issues of the conflict which has become imminent.

Unfortunately, political mistakes made by Moldova's political leaders in the Dniester region have exacerbated the state of affairs in the Dniester region too. If we were to recollect the history of this conflict, at the beginning of all this the 14th Army was executing its service, and

neither the right bank nor the left bank has undertaken any actions with respect to it. Once the armed conflict between the right and the left banks grew, I may say so, into a war, once both sides began to seek weapons, the 14th Army was drawn into the conflict. This is one thing.

Another thing is that, in order to justify its political mistakes, the leadership of Moldova has begun to play the 14th Army card as if the Army were supporting the left bank of the Dniester region. I declare that the 14th Army did not participate, is not participating, and will not participate in Moldova's internal political conflict.

As for its deployment there, well, it is a historical fact that in the former state, in the former Soviet Union, that basically troops have been stationed in all Union republics. I mean that this issue will be tackled in the near future on a bilateral basis—evidently, tomorrow, on Monday, or maybe on Tuesday. A meeting between Foreign Minister Kozyrev and Moldova's foreign minister will take place. We defense ministers will join in on a bilateral basis later. There are proposals coming from Ukraine about taking part in the tackling of this issue. I think that ultimately these issues ought to be resolved by political means and by means of negotiations.

My only opinion is that in order to decide the fate of the 14th Army in the future—whether or not it should be withdrawn or whether a status for the temporary stay of an army should be determined—a cease-fire should be established, first and foremost. It is not difficult to do it. A command to cease fire should simply be given. The command should say to withdraw from the right bank toward Chisinau, and from the left bank toward Tiraspol. Then a dialogue should begin.

[Telen] Who should give this command?

[Grachev] The command should be given by Moldovan President Snegur. It is as simple as that.

[Telen] Excuse me, Andrey. I am not satisfied with this answer. Could you tell me if the 14th Army clearly knows what its tasks are today—not the tasks it will get tomorrow when a mechanism for its existence there is determined—but just today. From your point of view as defense minister, to what extent is the situation in the 14th Army controllable and manageable?

[Grachev] There is a difficult situation. There are cases of the 14th Army being blockaded by both men who are able to fight and by women, old people, and children. There are a lot of cases of attempts being made to talk the 14th Army into carrying out combat operations against the right bank. I have given a command to remain completely neutral, not to interfere in the state's internal affairs, and to await a final decision after political negotiations.

[Skryabin, addressing Telen] Are you satisfied? Thank you. One more question: I would like to expand on the topic of the 14th Army. Gennadiy Ivanovich Lovtsov from Tiraspol wants to know about your attitude toward the 14th Army stationed in the Dniester region. We have already replied to that. He also wants to know about the grounds on which weapons have been handed over to Moldova. Issue No. 21 of KOMMERSANT carries an article about this saying that 144 guns, machine guns, mortars, and other weapons have been handed over. What is your attitude about Romania supplying weapons?

[Grachev] First of all, I do not know where KOMMERSANT got this information. Not a single weapon or piece of combat equipment has been handed over to Moldova. This issue will be tackled at bilateral talks because, in principal, Moldova has its quota and its share of the armed forces of the former Soviet Union. However, I declare that this issue will not be resolved positively, by me at least, until the events taking place between the right and the left banks are settled.

[Skryabin] Thank you. In regard to the question about weapons, the supply of weapons by Romania, what is your attitude on that? Is this true?

[Grachev] Yes. According to our information, weapons and equipment are being supplied by Romania. Several dozen pieces of armored equipment and small arms have been supplied.

There is information that Romanian military specialists are now in Moldova. There is information that Moldovan military specialists are on a training course in Romania. I regard this negatively. This simply whips up unnecessary passions. This complicates the situation and involves Romania in an internal armed conflict between the Dniester left and right banks.

[Skryabin] Thank you. Igor, over to you.

[Yakovenko] Pavel Sergeyevich, during the putsch days all of us were peering at the military with tension, thinking: Where will they turn their arms at and whom will they follow? In civilized countries there are mechanisms preventing the army from interfering in a country's internal affairs. One of this mechanisms is appointing a civilian as defense minister. Prior to your appointment, this idea was widely discussed in the media. We can see now that a professional regular military has been appointed. What is your attitude on this decision, in spite of the fact that it certainly affects you personally? The questions are as follows: Should there be a civilian defense minister? Do you regard your appointment as a temporary decision or is it a strategic decision? Will it be like this in Russia in the future?

[Grachev] I understand you. First of all, during the putsch days you witnessed the army's actions and those of the internal troops and the special troops, when the army did not turn against its people and practically resolved the question on whether there would be a civil war or not. This is unequivocal. I can repeat this at any level.

As for appointing a civilian as defense minister, I do not reject this. It seems to be the last word in fashion at present, and for some reason it is being inflated and intensified. I personally did not try to get this post and did not lay claims to this post. I was appointed. The president and the government appointed me. I must fulfill the functions placed given me. I think that in this difficult transitional period a military man should be at the helm of the army, even myself. Why? This is connected with a lot of problems. First, there is the problem of withdrawing troops and providing proper facilities for them on Russian territory. If at the beginning we were talking about withdrawal from Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Mongolia, now in addition we have withdrawal from the Baltics, Moldova, the Transcaucasus, and Central Asian republics. Troops should be withdrawn and proper facilities should be provided for them. Where should we withdraw them and how? We should do this in accordance with strategic plans, which are only clear to the military. This is first. Second, our state has never had a civilian leader in its history. The army, as a matter of fact, is not yet ready for a sharp change of defense minister at present. It is not ready.

I will not make any bones about it—a civilian defense minister will come up against a whole host of difficulties in handling the troops. Even somebody who has an excellent grounding would need at least a year to understand the armed forces, the system of administration, and training. Second, the very psychology, not just of the leading personnel of the army, but also of the rank and file, is not ready for a civilian. As a result of that, like it or not, under a civilian defense minister, somebody like a commander in chief of the armed forces of Russia would have to be appointed who would be essentially a second minister of defense. I do not think that a dyarchy is a very good thing.

As for some statements that the military are allegedly practically subordinate to civilian departments, I should say that is not true. The minister of defense, whether civilian or military, is subordinate to the president. Incidentally, the minister of defense is a civilian. The minister of defense implements the will of the Supreme Soviet where, as far as I know, the absolute majority are also civilians. The minister of defense coordinates all his actions with the Government of Russia, which consists mainly of civilians. So, as a military man, I am accountable to civilians and I implement the will of the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the government.

[Skryabin] Thank you. I apologize. I have to ask several questions sent in by our television viewers. I have chosen the most common. Here is a question from Aleksandr Valeriyevich Vasilyev from Groznyy: Promises have been made since February to withdraw the unit from Groznyy. All families and belongings have been taken out, only the officers remain in the unit. There are not any soldiers at all. The officer's corps is performing sentry duty. During the night, unknown people break into apartments and use threats to demand weapons. One gets the impression that this garrison has been forgotten by everyone. The command does not know what purpose our being here serves. You must answer. Thank you.

[Grachev] Let me answer. The troops in Chechniya are not forgotten. When I was first deputy commander in chief of the joint armed forces, I personally went by air to Chechniya at a most complex period and had two meetings there with Dudayev, where we discussed issues, including the security of our forces in the territory of Chechniya. Unfortunately, these negotiations were not crowned with success, although there were assurances on Dudayev's part that he and his guardsmen would make every effort to see that the families lived well and that the troops functioned normally. At present the armed band formations in Chechniya have occupied certain military cantonments and are controlling the outer perimeter of those cantonments which have not been occupied. Many decisions have been made and are being carried out.

Following more lengthy negotiations by the command of the North Caucasus Military District, the families have been withdrawn. The troops are now leaving for the territory of the North Caucasian Military District. Some of their equipment is leaving, but some that was seized earlier by Dudayev's guardsmen remains in Chechniya.

[Skryabin] Thank you. Here is a question from Aleksandr Konstantinovich Zhuravlets from Novocherkassk in Rostov Oblast: What is your attitude about the problem of the Kuril Islands? Is there or is there not a problem? To sell our territory for a song is to sell out our people. What does the stage by stage handover of the islands mean?

I must note that the issue of the principles regarding the Kurils is not really up to you, but I still wanted to ask you this question.

[Grachev] In principle, this issue is a political one. It is up to the government and the Supreme Soviet to decide whether or not our troops are to be in the Kurils. True, I stated recently in an interview that I do not intend to withdraw from our land, but if there is a political decision within the framework of a reduction of the army, I will carry out the order. Until a political decision is made, the troops will remain at their posts and locations where they are now stationed.

[Skryabin] Thank you. Here are two more questions which are also, to some extent, connected with what we are discussing. Valentina Fedorovna Guseva from Sevastopol says things are bad in the city. Yesterday eight cadets were beaten up by soldiers from the Ukrainian army who wanted to force them to take an oath to Ukraine. We need help and protection from Russia, she says. There is a second question from someone who signs himself Arik, a Muscovite from Odessa: What is your attitude toward Ukraine's claims on Russia's age-old territories of Sevastopol and Odessa? Here I am quoting a subquestion that is not asked explicitly.

[Grachev] Again, this is a ticklish political question. This is a question that is being tackled and will be resolved on the basis of bilateral talks between Russia and Ukraine. As I understand it, another round of talks between the presidents is to be held in the near future. Where the Black Sea Fleet is concerned, I absolutely disagree with Ukraine that the Black Sea Fleet is a Ukrainian fleet. The Black Sea Fleet is common to all the states bordering the Black Sea. It is therefore my unambiguous opinion that the Black Sea Fleet should belong to the Joint Armed Forces and be subordinate to the commander in chief, Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov.

[Skryabin] Thank you.

[Telen] Pavel Sergeyevich, you are now the minister for Russia's national armed forces. An active process of forming national armed forces in all the former Soviet republics is now in progress. The property and hardware of the former Soviet Armed Forces are being divided. Some of this property is falling into the hands of if not actually hostile republics, at least republics with whom our relations are exceedingly difficult. Do you rule out the possibility of wars between states being unleashed on the territory of the former Union, with national armies armed with weapons of the Soviet Army being involved? What is your attitude toward the creation of national armies instead of retaining the unified armed forces?

[Skryabin] By the way, you have questions like this from listeners.

[Grachev] Yes, I have such questions here. I understand your worries. We all view the fact that national armies are being created painfully, but such is life. The Soviet Union has disintegrated and sovereign independent states have been created. Each individual state has everything that a state should have, including an army. That is why, bearing in mind the new trends and times, I principally assess the idea that armies are being created as a normal thing. The only thing that worries me is the way they are being created. I have to admit that I do not agree with the fact that Ukraine has taken over all three military districts together with all the most up to date weaponry and equipment, but has not given anything to Russia and to other states.

[Telen] What do you mean by the phrase has taken over? Were there no political decisions made on this matter?

[Grachev] What kind of political decisions? All this was carried out unilaterally. Ukraine announced that it all this is its property, and then it nationalized everything. That was that.

[Telen] Analogous processes are now ripening in the Trancaucasus. As far as I understand the situation, South Ossetia has declared that it is nationalizing military equipment.

[Grachev] I will come to this later. Byelarus has actually acted in the same way as Ukraine, but then took one step backward. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan recently announced that all military formations stationed on their territory are the property of these states. Yesterday Kyrgyzstan announced that it has made an analogous decision. So far Turkmenistan and Tajikistan have opted for bilateral agreements with us. However, bad examples are infectious. The Transcaucasian republics think that they have been left in the cold since they have made a certain contribution. At the same time, it must be mentioned that all three republics in the Trancaucasus are taking different paths on this issue, particularly Azerbaijan.

The situation there is a difficult one. I must say that the situation is such that it is not always under the control of the leadership of Azerbaijan. As a result, bandit formations, which are now uncontrollable by the Azerbaijani leadership, have cropped up throughout the territory of the republic. For over a year these gangs have seized a great amount of weaponry and equipment which they now control. One might ask: Could we have prevented the seizure of weapons and equipment? Yes, we could have prevented this, but that means war and bloodshed. Yes, we could eliminate the attackers who are directly involved in all this, but they are working in a somewhat cunning, if not evil, way by putting women and children in front of the attackers. Other unlawful methods are being used to seize weapons. The Russian soldiers have not shot at civilians and will not do such a thing. I will not order them to shoot at children, old people, and women.

As for Armenia, the situation there is somewhat different. Until recently the seizure of weapons and equipment also took place there.

I believe that at present, thanks to the titanic work and efforts of President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, these disruptive actions have been eliminated. On a bilateral basis we are settling the issue of the status of units of our troops temporarily on Armenian territory....

[Telen, interrupting] Those which fall under Russian jurisdiction?

[Grachev] They are not under Russian jurisdiction. By this I mean that the jurisdiction existed prior to the formation of the Russian Army. Now they are all part of the Russian Army. Why are we talking about temporary status? In Tashkent, Armenia joined the treaty on collective security. With this treaty, we recognized Armenia. We are therefore disbanding part of this formation and withdrawing it; by reciprocal agreement, we are leaving part of the formation on Armenian territory. For how long? We will see. At present it has a temporary status.

[Yakovenko] Very well. I would now like to interrupt you. That is all very well, but if, for example, Azerbaijan also joins such an agreement, then do you think that we will act in the same way?

[Grachev] Regarding Azerbaijan, I have already said that the situation is complex. If we leave the 4th Army there

or send it back, then we would have to organize its equipment and arms in a new way. About 60 or 70 percent of all its equipment has been pilfered. The overwhelming majority of equipment there at present is not of a sufficiently high technical standard.

[Telen] Pavel Sergeyevich, you started to talk about gang formations. I am sorry, but I have a further, more precise, question about this.

[Skryabin] I have to ask you to stop. I am sorry, we have very little time left. Igor, it is your turn. I am making the most of my presenter's rights.

[Yakovenko] Pavel Sergeyevich, throughout our conversation you have been separating political and military problems. There is a theoretical division, but there is no getting away from political issues. There is a whole block of them. In the first place, a few words about military doctrine. Everything used to be clear to us before: There was the Warsaw Pact, the NATO bloc, the USSR, the United States, and we spoke quite openly of the existence of that confrontation. What is there now, in your point of view? Tell us a few words about the military doctrine, the doctrine of our Russian state.

[Grachev] The question of the military doctrine is being elaborated now. Literally the day before yesterday we ended the scientific, practical, and theoretical conference which took place in the Academy of the General Staff in which not just military, but also civilian scholars took part. The essence of the military doctrine was and remains, consists of preparation for repelling aggression, of preparing the Armed Forces to repell aggression. The military doctrine examines the character and means of carrying out military actions, but taking account of the current situation, the essence of the military doctrine will remain defensive, but defense will be mobile.

The essence of mobile defense is that at present, as we have pointed out frequently to our political leadership and to our president, is that Russia has no enemy, therefore, there is no need for Russia to create in a certain direction—as we used to have in the West—a strike grouping in order to repulse attacks. Therefore the essence of the defense doctrine is flexible response and maneuverability.

[Yakovenko] Another question about this: In connection with the change in the military doctrine, don't you, as the minister of defense and a member of the government, think it necessary, in connection with the fact that confrontation has lessened—and no matter how we assess the situation in the world, nevertheless, that tension has lessened very considerably—don't you think it necessary to introduce into the government when the budget for 1993 is being formed very considerable cuts in the military budget?

[Grachev] Each year since 1989 we have made a proposal for cutting the budget. For instance, in 1992, in comparison with 1993 [as heard], the financing of the Armed Forces fell by 20 percent. We will make these proposals in the future, too. But you will appreciate that the growth in prices flattens out our proposals and like it or not, it turns out that the budget is not greatly reduced.

[Yakovenko] I mean its share of the budget; do you plan to cut its share of the budget?

[Grachev] In terms of the share of the budget, we do plan to cut back.

[Yakovenko] In the same connection, what is the correlation between types of troops and various types of arms? Are any significant changes planned, so to speak, in connnection with the change in the military doctrine, in military organizational development?

[Grachev] Well, since we're pressed for time, I'll be brief. In connection with flexible and maneuverable defense—which I spoke to you about—it is planned to create a new type of armed forces; rapid response forces; that is the first thing. Second, the stake is placed not upon the quantity of unnecessary expensive equipment but upon quality, at the basis of which will be highly precise weapons.

As far as land troops are concerned, there will be changes in the shape of cuts in land forces, that is, the creation in every district of several divisions on constant combat readiness. All the remaining divisions will be cut and will be transferred—well, they will be reserve divisions; we'll think of them as that, as reserve divisions. As far as the reform of the Navy and the Air Force is concerned, we don't envisage any reforms.

[Skryabin] Thank you. Any more questions?

[Yakovenko] Yes. Actually, I have a continuation of the question. Pavel Sergeyevich, the Defense Ministry is planning to make some use of the internal processes taking place in our society now such as the revival of certain traditions, notably the revival of the tradition of the Russian Cossacks. The Cossacks are mentioning the possibility of doing specific military service, taking account of Cossack traditions. How do you feel about this? Are you planning to change the forms of draft in the traditionally Russian-Cossack regions?

[Grachev] My attitude on the Cossack question is generallly positive, but the Cossack detachments, units, and formations must not be considered special. I think they must be part of the armed forces, but with the appropriate equipment. Of course the mounted Cossacks are unsuitable for modern conditions. We already have examples of setting up Cossack units. We have an accord with the Cossack atamans on the direct creation of units within the armed forces. The Cossacks are even deciding the issue of the guarding of the state borders.

[Yakovenko] They have been deciding this.

[Grachev] They have been, yes.

[Yakovenko] Now they are deciding that question on their own.

[Grachev] They are tackling that problem, too, within the Armed Forces of Russia.

[Yakovenko] In that case it appears that this is no longer within your competence, but within the competence of the leadership of the border troops, who so far are not under the jurisdiction of the Defense Ministry.

[Grachev] Guarding the state border does not mean that the border troops guard it. The armed forces also guard the state borders, only at a certain distance from the state borders.

[Skryabin] Vladimir, we will not go into further detail. Lyusya, it is your turn, since we have not given you a chance to speak at all.

[Telen] Thank you. I will ask the question I have been wanting to ask. Pavel Sergeyevich, when we speak of military doctrine we always talk about our actions directed outward, or at least about our relations directed outside the state. Now we have a Commonwealth of Independent States; external and internal relations are exceedingly difficult to define, the more so since a number of these states are already united by a collective security treaty. Do you allow the possibility in certain cases of the army taking part in carrying out internal tasks which it will inevitably see in terms of interethnic conflicts and conflicts between states? Second, do you remember any instances of officers of the former Soviet Army finding themselves on opposite sides of the front?

[Grachev] Whether I allow it or not, the situation is indeed very complex. In various regions armed conflicts ending up in serious bloodshed seem to occur over and over. At present I believe in carrying out what were formerly described as functions outside the competency of the army.

[Telen] Please tell us what the functions beyond the competency of the army are.

[Grachev] What are functions beyond the competency of the army? Well, you remember when we were accused of interfering in interregional conflicts? This happened in Central Asia. You remember? It also happened in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, in Tbilisi, in Baku, and in the Baltics. Now the situation is so serious that the internal troops will simply not be able to cope with this task. Second, the population in certain regions is now so well armed that there could be a lot of trouble. However, I cannot give a command instructing the army to settle interethnic conflicts by armed means, since there is not an appropriate law.

[Telen] I suppose there is no mechanism by which it would be possible to control the army's actions.

[Grachev] If there is a law there would be a mechanism.

[Skryabin] Thank you. I will now ask several questions from television viewers.

I have about 30 questions here, all concerning one issue: the Baltics and the forces that are currently there. What is your position regarding these forces and the demands that they be withdrawn from there? What timeframe do you foresee?

[Grachev] The troops stationed in the Baltics are there temporarily. My deputies and I are holding joint talks with the foreign ministries of all three republics. This a very difficult process, but I have made it clear to everyone: I firmly believe that the forces will be withdrawn only after we have withdrawn the Western Group of Forces and the Northern Group of Forces. I am not going to withdraw them to places with unprepared conditions. People need normal living conditions. If the Baltic countries can allocate the relevant funds and, even better, if they build housing for servicemen in those places that we specify before we begin withdrawing the forces—and this is what we are proposing that they do—I am prepared to withdraw the forces tomorrow. As for the existing situation, the realistic timescale for the beginning of the withdrawal process is the end of 1994.

[Skyrabin] Thank you. Nikolay Aleksandrovich Porukushin of St. Petersburg asks: I am a submarine officer. Is a professional army a possibility in this country? If so, how long will it take to establish it? This is a question that is not just of interest to me and the crew here.

[Grachev] I have written in the press proposing this. I have reported that there are three proposed phases to military reform. During the second phase there will be dual recruiting: conscription plus service under contract. This phase will continue throughout 1993 and 1994. After that will be the third phase, from 1995 to 1999, depending on the economic health of our state, when the transition to a professional army will begin. I have to say that if recruiting on a contractual basis is to even start, the rank and file will have to be paid wages not less than at the average civilian rate, meaning 4,000 to 5,000 rubles per month.

[Skyrabin] Thank you. Captain Grigoriyev from Moscow writes: What is going to happen to the military construction units? That is the first part of the question. The second is of a more personal nature: Why have servicemen been banned from wearing short-sleeved shirts in Moscow?

[Grachev] I do not know who banned that. I issued instructions about the strict observance of dress uniform to the commanders of the military districts, including the commander of Moscow District. I cannot allow servicemen to be seen in unacceptable dress uniform, in unironed clothes, or in ill assorted clothing, including field outfits. It is permitted to wear the latter uniform only during exercises. The district troop commander decides the dress uniform depending on the temperature.

[Skyrabin] Thank you. Here is another question, from Sergey Semenovich Popov from Minsk. He asks: How long will military motor vehicles be sold for 2,000 to

3,000 rubles? The army in Byelarus has only old equipment left while the new equipment is being sold.

I would pose the question in a different way since such questions are being raised. What will become of the commercial activities being carried out and manifesting themselves actively in the army?

[Grachev] I am not competent to speak about what is happening in Byelarus, in another state. The process of the sale of military equipment, including motor vehicles, at residual cost, has been stopped, or at least suspended. The process of selling continues through auctions at market prices. As far as commercial structures are concerned, they have been suspended in the army. Now a mechanism of commercial activity for used property, or property that has been taken out of commission, is being elaborated. As far as excess tanks—for example, armored personnel carriers—aviation equipment, and other equipment are concerned, that is a state question. Obviously this should be decided by the Ministry of External Relations together with the Ministry of Defense. If that process is delayed, then some kind of centralized mechanism will have to be set up for selling excess equipment through the armed forces' commercial structures.

[Skryabin] Thank you. We have just a little time left. There are many questions in connection with pension provisions and the social protection of the military.

[Grachev] Regarding pension provisions, with the increase in servicemen's allowances, pensions will correspondingly increase throughout Russia.

[Telen] Pavel Sergeyevich, are you really going to do this all at the same time? You will do this for armed forces officers and pensioners at the same time?

[Grachev] We would like to, but at the moment we have such a cumbersome chain of command structure—various ministries and the military registration and enlistment offices at oblast and kray levels and right down to rayon levels—that by the time it reaches the pensioners two or three months or more have usually passed. If we could simplify this system, then of course we could achieve this.

[Yakovenko] That is clear. Two minutes remain. Here is another question, although there are several of them. A designer called Sorokin asks what measures are being undertaken regarding a design office, meaning one for the army. Many offices are closing and many people are leaving. What is your attitude toward the military-industrial complex, design offices, and factories?

[Grachev] I have repeatedly held meetings with representatives of the military-industrial complex, and we spoke at the scientific conference. With tears in my eyes I look at the state in which they find themselves. It really is disastrous. Our ill thought out conversion, which is unfortunately even now going on, is not benefitting our state. I believe that conversion needs to be carried out sensibly. When an enterprise undergoes conversion, about 50 percent of it should continue with military production and 50 percent should convert to nonmilitary production. After all, the sale of military goods, overseas as well, brings a lot of profit to any civilized state.

[Skryabin] Pavel Sergeyevich, here is a list of questions from viewers to which we have unfortunately not had the chance to reply during our short program today. We have not even read them to you. We are handing them to you. I hope that you will look at them.

To conclude our program, I would like to know about one thing that has surprised me. As a rule, many questions come in to these programs about both good and bad things and about the participant in the program. These questions even come from journalists. Today this bundle I am holding includes congratulations to you. Only one telephone call was against you, just so you know. Yeditskiy from Ryazan says: I congratulate Pavel Sergeyevich on his appointment to this high post. Dmitriy Grigoryevich Shukakidze, a retired major from Sochi in Dagomys says: Please pass Grachev the information that I served with him and I welcome his appointment to this high post. I am proud of you, he says. These were the calls we received.

Our time is up. Pavel Sergeyevich, thank you for taking part in this program. I hope that it was interesting for the viewers. Thank you to all the participants. Thank you to all of you.

[Grachev] Thank you, viewers. I will try to reply to all the questions to which I have not yet replied. Thank you, and all the best.

Rutskoy Expounds Views on Russian Army

PM2905151192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 May 92 pp 1, 2

[Article by Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy: "We Must Build an Army Worthy of Great Russia"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The formation of the Defense Ministry and the Russian Army and Navy has begun in Russia. Naturally, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers would like to know: What does the vice president think about this?

The decision to create a Russian Army and Navy was expected for a long time. But the federation leadership deliberately refrained from hurrying over this, doing everything possible to avoid the uncontrolled collapse of former USSR defense structures. That is why I am convinced that nobody has the right to reproach the Russian president or the Russian parliament and accuse them of sluggishness. A show of restraint, especially in matters as these, is a sign of statesmanlike wisdom and a responsible political approach.

I will not conceal the fact that on many occasions I have asked myself this question: Has the time really come to

create our own Armed Forces? After all, as a military man, I realized: Apart from the obvious advantages, such a decision is fraught with a sharp reduction in overall military potential, upon which a lot could depend in times of need. From a strategic viewpoint, this is not very far-sighted.

However, an analysis of the political and economic processes which have developed on Commonwealth territory led us to conclude that it is impossible to put off creating the Armed Forces any longer. From the point of view of Russia and her interests, this has become frankly dangerous in such contradictory and unpredictable times.

Let us analyze the previous situation. Russia, not having its own army, sought to persuade its neighbors not to tear the former USSR Armed Forces asunder but to resolve this vital question in a civilized manner. The first option was to create the Joint Armed Forces, and later, having re-shaped them through combined efforts, to create CIS member-state national armies. However, it proved "easier" to disband the unified Armed Forces, having broken them up along nationality lines. As a result, the leading and most combat-capable units, armed with the latest hardware, as well as strategic supply depots, fell to Ukraine and Byelarus. Rivers of weapons flowed into the arsenals of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

To the last, Russia stood for unified Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces, citing the logic and advantages of a single military-strategic area. Russia advocated preserving the infrastructure of the ballistic missile early warning system, intelligence gathering, command and control, and other elements of the common defense system stationed in sovereign states along the periphery of the former USSR But alas, what took place was an irreversible process of pilfering, the illegal acquisition not only of general purpose Armed Forces, but also of strategic forces. A number of states actually withdrew altogether from resolving questions linked with the USSR's military heritage. Others started to demand for their own armies an increase in the quotas accepted by the Soviet Union under the Paris Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe [CFE]. Realizing at the same time that, by thus consenting, Russia, the USSR's successor which promised the entire world that it would follow the signed document to the letter, would to all intents and purposes be left without Armed Forces. In these circumstances, could Russia afford not to have an Army?

There are of course other reasons which prompted us to decide on creating the Russian Armed Forces. One of the most important is uncertainty over the status of the former Union Army and Navy stationed on the territories of sovereign, independent states and involved in interethnic feuds. In addition, it is possible to list quite a few Armed Forces' problems which are unresolved to this day and which are being intensified because of uncertainty, lack of rights, a shortage of accommodation, low wages, and so on. Today, things are especially difficult for those whom fate led to the Baltic Region, to the groups of forces, and to the Transcaucasus. Whom do these people serve, which fatherland? Why have they buried and why are they burying comrades who have perished for some unknown reason? It has become impossible to find answers to such questions. But how could it be otherwise, if the military across the entire expanse of the CIS essentially found themselves in a legal vacuum?

So for what sins should Russia and the Russian military have to tolerate all this? Especially when Russia is carrying on its shoulders the lion's share of all military expenses. Could we look on calmly without reacting to what was happening, could we remain silent and indifferent while witnessing the final collapse and demoralization of the Army, and the concurrent departure of young officers, human deaths, looting of weapons, and desertion? Due to uncertainty, the defense industry—in the throes of haphazard conversion and economic disarray—is collapsing. Likewise, the once powerful scientific and technical potential of the military-industrial complex has been shaken to the core. Right now, 21 percent of Russian defense enterprises are on the brink of bankruptcy, and 43 percent will join the ranks of low-profitability enterprises if not today then tomorrow. What next? What actions?

In this connection, P.A. Stolypin's words spring to mind: "Concern about the fleet and the armed services [voinstvo] as a whole is the inherent characteristic of a true state leader. Solders and sailors are bound by oath to give selfless service—the state, aware of its own huge moral responsibility, must repay with concern. Especially a state which, since time immemorial, has had a national army which has repeatedly saved the people from annihilation by enemies who never waged war with Russia 'for fun,' but always to annihilate."

Guided by the Russian Federation Declaration on State Sovereignty, and in line with the 5 March 1992 Law "On Security," the Russian president made the decision to create a Russian Army. Undoubtedly, everything will fall into place. But daily and painstaking work is required. Not only work by the higher echelons of power, but also by the officers, soldiers, and citizens of Russia. At the same time, everybody should be aware: By reviving the Russian Army, we are reviving Great Rus. It will be difficult, but who will do it if not we? Can we afford not to revive our own fatherland?

Does the step taken signify a rejection, as some claim, of the idea of collective defense? On the contrary. Having assumed jurisdiction over troops and granted them the status of Russians, Russia simultaneously delegated to the Joint Armed Forces High Command the powers to deploy them effectively to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all Commonwealth states. This applies both to strategic forces and to general purpose forces. Along with this, an immediate solution is required to the question of the presence (basing) of

troops beyond Russian borders, founded not on servicemen's existing lack of rights, but on a distinct and clear understanding of their legal status, guaranteeing honor, dignity, and a real life for the military man.

Exactly how long will these powers vis-a-vis the Russian troops within the CIS Joint Armed Forces operate is another question. In my view, their "longevity" will be determined by multilateral agreements on joint defense and the assignment of national army units to the Joint Armed Forces. That is, once again a great deal here depends upon our neighbors and their stances. As for the Russian Federation, we are ready for constructive dialogue with everybody so that we can resolve, not in words but in deeds, the accumulation of neglected problems with the minimum of delay.

Thus, what kind of Army does Russia need? I think that today we have a unique opportunity to create truly renewed Armed Forces and resolve those questions which in past years have repeatedly been raised, examined, but not resolved.

Question number one: Where to begin? Military science and the experience of world civilization prove: Any self-respecting Army begins with a state military doctrine. Thus, first and foremost it is necessary to define the Russian Army's future tasks.

Nowadays, nobody can deny the obvious truth that the military threat as a whole has declined: No world war or other large-scale war is expected to break out in the foreseeable future. But to this day, the possibility of so-called small, localized conflicts still exists. Unfortunately, we still have a long way to go before reaching an era of universal, peaceful bliss. There are still no guarantees that threats from without will never again arise. Consequently, a balanced and considered defense policy cannot be renounced.

Upon evaluating the situation, it can be concluded that in today's circumstances it is necessary to build Armed Forces from positions of high mobility, protectability, and survivability based on the latest advances in military technical science and the high professionalism of servicemen. In this connection, strategic defense must be built in such a way so as not to hinder troop maneuverability, so that strategic boundaries constitute a powerful shield reinforced by highly mobile aviation, missile, airmobile, and naval rapid reaction forces. Of course, this cannot be done at one fell swoop, especially when the economy is in a reform phase. What is needed are precise and consistent actions in line with the country's real conditions and potential.

What kind of guidelines should be used in creating the Russian Army?

As a basis, it is necessary to take the existing Armed Forces' structure as it undergoes simultaneous and radical cuts in numerical strength and in the quantity of all types of arms, bringing them down to the minimum necessary level to ensure the reliable defense of the state and its allies.

One of the Russian Army's main tasks will be to prevent outbreaks of local conflicts and wars.

For economic considerations, it is necessary to make maximum use of existing military potential and the existing infrastructure of the Armed Forces stationed on Russia's territory, together with troops being withdrawn from Germany, Poland, Mongolia, and the Baltic States, troop units from the Transcaucasus, and combined units and units which do not form part of CIS member states' national armies. Eventually, they could be transformed into highly mobile units and rapid reaction combined units.

The process of creating the Russian Armed Forces should be accompanied by a simultaneous and radical reshaping of all aspects of their activity. This primarily concerns the system of military-political command and control [upravleniye]. When restructuring this system, paramount attention must be given to elaborating a mechanism to provide reliable civilian control over the Army. What this envisages is an expansion of the rights and obligations of the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the Russian Government in the defense sphere, strict demarcation of the functions of state and military organs of command and control, a guarantee of maximum glasnost and openness in the sphere of military activity, and close links with the public.

Of course, in realizing this idea it is expected that power will be divided between the organs of direct military command and control—the Defense Ministry and the General Staff. The foundation of such a division of power should be provided by the principle of strict demarcation of functional duties regarding troop leadership.

In my view, it would be expedient to endow the Russian Defense Ministry with such functions and powers as forming and implementing military and military-technical policy; planning and conducting state mobilization measures (recruitment, developing the infrastructure, training reserves and the population, preparing the economy and command systems), elaborating the military budget, providing the Army with material resources, supplying arms and military hardware, pursuing defense industry conversion, implementing social programs in the Army and Navy, and others.

Direct leadership of the troops must be exercised by commander in chief of the Armed Forces through the General Staff, the commanders (commanding officers) of the Armed Forces' branches, large strategic formations, combined units, and units. At the same time, their command functions could include the strategic and operational planning of the combat use of Armed Forces; organizing measures to maintain combat and mobilization readiness; operational and combat training for troops (forces) and staffs; defining the regulation organizational structure [organizatsionno-shtatnaya struktura]

for military formations, requirements for personnel, arms, and military hardware; organizing cooperation with the CIS Joint Armed Forces' command; and command and control of the Armed Forces in peace and wartime.

Insofar as military reform incorporates a whole range of complex and large-scale problems linked with the radical reorganization both of the state and of the Armed Forces with simultaneous and significant cuts in numerical strength, it will take some time. Historical experience in conducting military reforms in the Russian state proves that they can take decades. We have not got that much time, but nevertheless it would be wrong to speed up the process excessively without due consideration of economic potential and social tension within society. Clearly, we need to go through certain stages for reforming and creating the Russian Army. How would these stages look?

During the **first stage** (during 1992): To set up the Russian Defense Ministry, while it obviously would be expedient to assign the functions of the General Staff to the CIS Joint Armed Forces General Staff, with the subsequent withdrawal from its composition of the organ which will carry out the functions of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces Staff. To assume full jurisdiction over troops (forces) located on Russian territory and abroad, including troops on the territory of CIS states which do not form part of their national armies. To immediately create a system of social guarantees for servicemen and members of their families, as well as for persons who have either been discharged (including prematurely) from military service into the reserves or have retired on pension. It is important to speed up the elaboration and ratification of the numerical strength and structure of the Russian Armed Forces, and to define the procedure, stages, and deadlines for reforming and reducing them. Particular attention should be paid to creating a legal basis for the functioning of the Russian Army, taking due account of the norms of international law and the agreements reached within the CIS.

At the second stage (1993-1994): To continue reducing and reforming the troops, and basically to conclude the withdrawal of troops onto Russian territory (from Germany, Poland, and Mongolia) and creating Armed Forces groupings.

During this stage, it is necessary to stabilize the situation in the Armed Forces: To switch to a mixed manpower acquisition system, combining the draft with voluntary entry into military service by citizens on a contract basis; to raise the prestige of military service through legal protection, preferential access to all material comforts, high wages in excess of or commensurate with those received in industry and taking account of the risk factor, and introduction of insurance policies providing not just an existence but a dignified life for servicemen and members of their families in cases of disability or death.

The branch structure of the Armed Forces (Strategic Rocket Forces, Ground Forces, Air Defense, Air Force, and Navy) should be retained until the end of this stage. This will make it possible to preserve the existing system of command and control safety and combat ability while avoiding any extra expense. Clearly, at the least in the transition period, there is a need to retain military districts, given their important role in settling troops withdrawn onto Russian territory, organizing, and providing for them.

The **third stage** (1995-2000): To completely withdraw the troops from the Northwestern Group of Forces (the Baltic countries).

This process could be accelerated if these countries were to agree to reciprocal actions (that is, we leave garrison installations and housing facilities in the Baltic countries, and the Baltic countries build garrison installations and housing facilities in Russia for the troops being withdrawn.)

Furthermore, it is necessary to complete the cutbacks in the Armed Forces in line with the START and CFE Treaties, and to reform them and transfer them to new organizational structures taking due account of the reorganization of the Armed Forces' branches and categories of troops. In particular, it is necessary to set about gradually reducing and reorganizing the command and control of military districts. And through this, to strengthen army and corps organs of command and control and their complement.

A radical cut in troop numbers (from 2.8 million men) should be implemented consistently during all stages of the reform of the Russian Army, taking it to 2.1 million men by the end of the second stage, and 1.5 million men by the end of the third stage, while simultaneously resolving all social problems of discharged servicemen. Here it is important not to apply methods used in past campaigns to cut and withdraw troops under Krushchev and Gorbachev.

Proceeding from the above, it seems that it would be expedient for the Russian Armed Forces to comprise:

1) Numerically small forces (airmobile regiments, brigades, and divisions) on permanent standby (rapid reaction), deployed in such a manner as to effectively counter any external threat, and capable of repulsing aggression on a local scale.

2) Airmobile reinforcement troops, equipped with heavy and salvo-fire weapons, and capable of swift redeployment and for performing tasks in support of rapid reaction troops (forces) with the minimum of delay in any region of the country.

3) Strategic reserves, formed from reserve troops in periods of potential danger and during aggression to enhance efforts in the event of it being impossible to halt the development of armed conflict with rapid reaction and airmobile forces.

This structure of troops ensures an opportunity for a commensurate buildup of combat might and the containment or repulsion of aggression in any direction.

When creating and reformng the Russian Army, fundamental transformations will affect all branches of the Armed Forces, significantly altering their numerical strength, combat composition, and organizational structures. In doing so, it is necessary to retain the Strategic Rocket Forces' role as the main component of the strategic nuclear forces, a role determined by their contribution to performing the tasks assigned to them.

In accordance with this concept, I deem it necessary:

To switch the Ground Forces primarily to the corps, division, and brigade system, significantly reducing the number of large military formations and combined units while at the same time raising the new formations' combat potential, air mobility, and autonomy of action in any strategic area. It is necessary to move away from the strategy of victory through numerical strength, especially since the time has come to learn from history (The Finnish war: For every Finn who died, 10 of our servicemen died; The Great Patriotic War: for every dead German soldier, 14 USSR servicemen died.)

It would be expedient to build the Air Defense Forces on the territorial principle. To this end, all Russia's territory is to be divided into air defense zones, whose borders will coincide with those of air defense districts (armies).

The Air Force, as one of the most effective and maneuverable branches of the Russian Armed Forces, should be organizationally distinct from the aviation under the Supreme High Command and the tactical and military transport aviation.

The Navy must also undergo radical transformations. In the light of the Baltic countries' well known stance, there will be changes in the combat structure and the basing system of the Russian Baltic Fleet, which will require significant additional appropriations.

To resolve the tasks of defending Russia from the direction of the sea in the southwest, it is necessary, come what may, to preserve the Russian Black Sea Fleet, comprising no less than 80 percent of current personnel strength and fleet ships. Here, too, additional expense will be required to develop the basing system.

It would be expedient to retain the existing structure of Russia's Northern and Pacific Fleets until 1995, at the same time resolving quickly the question of the repair and technical maintenance of ships and the submarine fleet, and carrying out the requisite organizational changes. The need to create mixed rapid reaction forces within the Navy to defend the open seas and the coastline emerged long ago. There is an objective need to strengthen the system of naval base defense with salvo-fire weapon systems, air defense forces, and a naval infantry.

Significant transformations in the composition of specialized troops are also inevitable. In particular, it will be expedient to exclude civil defense forces from the composition of the Russian Armed Forces and to entrust their leadership to the State Committee for Matters of Civil Defense, Emergency Situations, and the Liquidation of the Consequences of Natural Disasters, which was created by presidential decree.

In the course of the reform of the Armed Forces today, the significance of military construction troops, which bear the brunt of resolving tasks for providing accommodation and facilities in the social sphere for servicemen (including troops withdrawn from abroad) and for creating special facilities for the Armed Forces' branches, and which are subordinate to various civilian departments and cause 70 percent of all accidents in the Armed Forces, increases. The military construction troops should be reformed into engineering troops and transferred to Russian Defense Ministry subordination.

It would also be expedient to incorporate the road construction troops, created in 1988 to construct and reconstruct highways in the Non-Chernozem Zone, in the engineering troops, putting an end to the arbitrary treatment of the road construction troops.

It is necessary to reform railroad troops, which were withdrawn from the Armed Forces' composition in 1988, into Russian railroad troops, and to correct the error which was made through a lack of understanding of these troops' significance in modern warfare and in helping the national economy.

A special place in building the Russian Armed Forces must be given to problems of military-technical policy. Given the cuts in financial appropriations to defense, it is possible to maintain the minimum necessary level of equipment for the Armed Forces only by defining priorities in developing and procuring arms and military hardware. In my view, these priorities should be given to developing strategic arms, anti-air defense, long distance, military transport, and tactical—particularly army ground-attack and helicopter—aviation, high-precision multiple rocket launchers and salvo-fire weapons [zalpovoye oruzhiye], intelligence-gathering systems, integrated reconnaissance and strike missile systems of short-range, medium-range, and long-range capacity, radio-electronic warfare, and high mobility "hardened" systems for directing battle and commanding troops.

An important area of the reform of the Russian Armed Forces is the legal backup for their organizational development and social guarantees for servicemen. In this context, I think that the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet should enshrine the status of the Russian Armed Forces in the Constitution and adopt laws "On Universal Service Duties and Contract-Based Military Service," "On Producing and Supplying Products for Defense Needs," "On Mobilization Preparations in the National Economy," "On Servicemen's Status," and

others. This would pave the way for bringing all normative legal acts defining the role and position of the Armed Forces in the political organization of society and the responsibilities and duties of state organs of power and command in respect of the Russian Army into line with Russia's new political structure.

These are some of the general approaches to the organizational development of Russia's Armed Forces. Their creation is an extremely complex, labor-intensive process. In embarking on its implementation, it is necessary to have detailed plans substantiating all aspects of the problems linked to withdrawing, reducing, reshaping, and reprofiling [pereformirovaniye] troops, and to have comprehensive and substantiated calculations on numerical strength and the quantity of necessary arms and military hardware, including those which are being destroyed, those that have spent their serviceable life, and those being delivered by industry.

A result of realizing this project could be the creation of a small, highly mobile, professional CIS and Russian Joint Armed Force, capable of reliably defending peace, and securing a worthy place in the democratic development of the world community for the Commonwealth and for Russia.

It is encouraging that the processes which have developed recently in the sphere of defense building in the CIS are reflected at a political level as an important and binding beginning, giving grounds to expect the creation of an adequate security system.

In signing the agreement on collective security in Tashkent, Russian President B.N. Yeltsin and the leaders of the other four CIS states performed an indisputable service. In this way, the one true road toward strengthening the military-political stability of Russia and the CIS, as well as European and international security, has been mapped out.

Bank's Matyukhin Interviewed on Resignation

PM0206191992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jun 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with G. Matyukhin, chairman of the Russian Central Bank, by Ivan Zhagel; place, date not given: "G. Matyukhin: 'I Will Not Agree to Money Being Pumped Into the Economy'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] G. Matyukhin, chairman of the Russian Central Bank, submitted his resignation at the session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium 1 June. In this connection your IZVESTIYA correspondent asked him to answer a number of questions which are of interest to us.

[Zhagel] Georgiy Gavrilovich, first of all, what was the cause of your decision? What reasons made you submit your resignation?

[Matyukhin] The point is that the Central Bank leadership has been subjected to constant pressure recently. On the one hand, the mass media have blamed us for all the misfortunes that are now occurring in our monetary system. We are being blamed—quite unjustifiably—for the huge credit emission and shortage of cash, although it is not the bank but the government and the parliament that are adopting numerous programs requiring more and more money.

On the other hand, our relations with the Supreme Soviet have become more difficult, and they have become particularly so with the Commission for the Budget, Plans, Taxes, and Prices, which, instead of supervising the bank's activity, has recently been trying to virtually supplant the bank itself.

[Zhagel] To be honest, it seems rather strange to hear about your complex relations with parliament. The opinion has formed that you work in close contact with parliamentary speaker Khasbulatov, and that you are his man, so to speak.

[Matyukhin] To my mind, it is only thanks to his support that we held out for so long. Although, to be honest, Ruslan Imranovich has recently changed his position somewhat. For instance, he recently sent me a letter in which he asked me to refrain from traveling abroad. And at a meeting with a parliamentary faction he explained this as follows: So I would not run away.

Certain other representatives of the top echelon of power also made tactless remarks about me, and some even promised to dismiss me. All this did in fact influence my decision to submit my resignation. However, along with my resignation, I also expressed my point of view to the Supreme Soviet Presidium concerning the serious need to adopt a decision whereby the chairman of the Central Bank would be protected from any attacks from outside at least for the first two years of his work. In any case, it should not be possible to dismiss him, otherwise it will be simply impossible to pursue a resolute policy in the country's interests.

[Zhagel] It is not just the parliament, but also the government that has recently been strengthening its claim on the Central Bank. What is your reaction to the idea of making the bank accountable to the president as well?

[Matyukhin] At the beginning of perestroyka the bankers of the former Soviet Union campaigned for the banking system to be taken out of the control of the executive. Our whole history and the experience of foreign countries testifies that wherever this is not done, the monetary system is unstable. And now that the Central Bank has really become independent of the government and the president, once again they want to turn us into a powerless organ which cannot decide anything, a means of pumping money into the economy. I will never agree to this.

Quite recently President B. Yeltsin promised to give the oil industry workers a credit of 120 billion rubles [R]. A decision has already been adopted to pour another R220 billion into the economy. All this will lead to a situation whereby all the enormous efforts we have made to stabilize the ruble will be wasted.

[Zhagel] So far we have talked about economic questions, but accusations of a moral nature, so to speak, are also often made against the Central Bank. It is said that some of its leaders take bribes in return for granting centralized credits.

[Matyukhin] The Central Bank is a state structure with specific power functions, so naturally a great deal depends on our decisions. And in theory any state organ that has money at its disposal and issues licenses may be suspected of corruption. However, without proof such assertions are no more than provocation.

I know that I too am being accused of corruption. Yeltsin's intelligence service has even asked the central banks of other countries about my personal accounts, to which money for petroleum deliveries was allegedly transferred. So far, no concrete facts proving my guilt have been found, but the very fact of this mistrust is very insulting to me. Naturally it is very difficult to continue working in such conditions.

Regional Issues

Further Reportage on Yeltsin's Visit, Remarks

LD3005044992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 28 May 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] President Yeltsin continues his trip to regions which, he says himself, he has never visited before. Moreover, the last state leader to visit Buryatiya, where the president arrived today, was Mikhail Kalinin in 1923. Since then, the official authorities have not put in an appearance in this region, where the economic situation is extremely complicated. Reports from our correspondents:

[Correspondent L. Salnikov] Ending his visit to Altay, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin visited the Altay Scientific Research Institute of Siberian Horticulture. The eminent guest was told of the possibilities of this scientific center and, of course, of its problems.

Earlier, the Russian president held a working conference with the leaders of the kray and had given instructions to ministries and departments on tackling a number of the problems of the kray. In particular, Altay is to be allocated 3 billion rubles for a program to eliminate the consequences of nuclear explosions in Semipalatinsk. The Russian president has left for Buryatiya.

Comments on Army Situation

PM2905113792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 May 92 p 1

[RIA report: "Boris Yeltsin Believes That the Situation in the Army Today Is Calmer Than At Any Other Time"]

[Text] Barnaul—The situation in the Army is calmer than at any other time, Russian President Boris Yeltsin stated 26 May at Barnaul Airport. In his opinion, the reason is that the social protection of servicemen has been significantly increased in recent times. He also stressed that the creation of the Russian Armed Forces had been well received in the Army. Before, Yeltsin noted, a certain vagueness had existed: It was difficult to answer the question, what was the Army of the CIS—a state formation not having its own flag or its own anthem. There had also been a lack of clarity on the issue of to whom servicemen should swear allegiance. The president described the decree on the social protection of servicemen as the first stage in improving servicemen's protection. He said that in June the government is to prepare a wage increase for health and education workers, and also militia and army workers.

'Depressing Effect' Noted

PM0306094392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 May 92 p 1

[PRAVDA correspondent Stanislav Vtorushin commentary: "B.N. Yeltsin Visit to Where the Siberian Deer Bellow"]

[Text] Barnaul—The kray's inhabitants awaited B. Yeltsin's arrival in Altay with particular impatience. For the almost five month period of the so-called reforms, many of them have felt that their lives were reaching a point beyond which they would fall into an abyss.

An unstoppable disintegration of industry and agriculture is in progress; practically all budget-funded organizations are breathing their last breath. Thousands of workers in industrial enterprises have already felt the soul-chilling breath of unemployment. Altay's medics, teachers, and agricultural workers have in the hope of drawing attention to their problems declared that a strike is in the offing. But it is as if the Russian leadership is not taking notice of this. The people had hoped that the president would dispel their worries, buoy up their flagging spirits, and precisely and clearly explain how Russia will extricate itself from the crisis.

However, B. Yeltsin's journey around Altay has had a depressing effect on me personally. He has not expressed a single new idea and has not succeeded in kindling a single ray of hope in people's hearts. But on the other hand he has as always made many injudicious pronouncements. For example, when talking about the problems of health care, and deformed children coming into the world, B. Yeltsin said that he had recently been

shown a Dutch machine, with the help of which as early as in the seventh month of pregnancy it is possible to determine with 100 percent accuracy whether a child will be born normal or deformed. At this point it is still possible to terminate the pregnancy, the Russian president stated.

What does it mean to carry out an abortion after six months pregnancy? In effect to consciously commit the murder of a baby. Which president of which country would dare to propose this publicly to his citizens? After all killing even one cripple does not prevent other unfortunate people from coming into the world. In order to resolve this problem other methods are necessary. But here we are so to speak talking about a degree of morality.

Incidentally, the 500 million rubles B. Yeltsin has promised to hand out in wages to Altay's inhabitants have not up till now arrived in Barnaul. An airplane has flown out for them, but no one knows when the money will be delivered.

As far as urgent problems of day to day life are concerned, here also the president's speeches did not give cause for optimism. He stated that prices will continue to rise. But instead of outlining a precise and clear program for extricating Russia from the economic catastrophe, he searches with startling persistence for people to blame for the situation which has developed. This is already beginning to strike a larger and larger number of people.

B. Yeltsin has again blamed the party nomenklatura for all the present ills and demanded that the CPSU be put on trial. As if such a trial could abundantly supply the tables of the citizens of Russia. In this connection you come more and more to the conclusion that such propagandist actions are necessary in order to deflect people's attention from his own errors and to push the blame for them onto others. Especially as over the 70 years that the CPSU ruled the state, it provided plenty of pretexts. Indeed Boris Yeltsin himself, since he was far from being just a rank and file Communist, should also answer for the party's errors. But instead he hushes this up.

The Congress of People's Deputies also gets in the president's way a lot. It comprises about 80 percent former CPSU representatives, B. Yeltsin stated. And they will never adopt a decision to abolish themselves. Therefore, it is the president's opinion that it is necessary to conduct a nationwide referendum which will adopt a new Constitution and make this body unnecessary, and also give the head of state additional powers. But the most surprising thing is that in none of his speeches did the president say how it is planned to stop the fall in productivity in the national economy, and then start its rise. Clearly, he does know himself.

Many people pose the question why did B. Yeltsin make the journey to Altay? In order to help solve several local problems? But he could have done this without coming to Barnaul. Or was it in order to see with his own eyes slogans like "Yeltsin, you have sold Russia out!" But, I think, those whose job it is to do so, report on them regularly to him.

Or maybe it is profitable for someone to offer up the president in this way and make capital out of this for themselves? After all it is easier to push your way through to the summits of power in his shadow, then when the cup of national patience overflows, to dump all the blame for Russia's misfortunes not on the Communists any more, but on Yeltsin himself. And in this way declare themselves the homeland's saviors?

Tyumen Votes No Confidence in Russian Government

OW3005000992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2012 GMT 29 May 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet of Tyumen region, Western Siberia, voted for no confidence in Russia's government and called a pre-strike situation. This situation is mainly connected with the lack of cash. Debts to the people to be paid off total 25 billion rubles.

The head executive of Tyumen region Yuriy Shafrannik, and Chairman of Khanty-Mansiyskiy autonomy district Parliament, "NIPEK" oil concern leader Valeriy Churilov will take part in the presidential meeting with oil enterprises' directors in Moscow on May 30.

Valeriy Churilov said that he hoped for a constructive dialogue not only on the cash issue, but also on the situation in the oil industry as a whole. Valeriy Churilov is for the decentralisation and privatization of the oil industry.

Tyumen Official 'Pleased' With Moscow Meeting

OW0206221192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1943 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a press conference in Tyumen the Head of the administration of the Tyumen District Yuriy Shafranik expressed his satisfaction with "several results" of the meeting of leaders of the Russian oil and gas complex chaired by President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow. In particular he said that the Russian Government promised to sent 10 billion rubles to the district to pay the salaries of oil and gas workers.

Shafranik stressed that this sum is half of what is needed.

In addition, a decision was passed to give the Tyumen district credits of 120 billion rubles for the development of the oil and gas industry. An agreement was reached and proper documents drawn up on the transfer on a competitive basis of new oil fields, to be mined in 1993-95 to domestic and foreign firms.

Shafranik supported the recent appointment of Victor Chernomyrdin Vice Prime Minister of the Russian government on the fuel and energy complex.

Komi Changes Name; Sovereignty Laws Adopted

LD0106221392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Video report by correspondent E. Kunetsov from Komi; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] The session of the Komi Supreme Soviet in Syktyvkar lasted three days. The deputies decided to strike the words Soviet Socialist from the name of the republic, thus putting an end to the existence of states of such orientation in Europe.

Amendments introduced to the republic's constitution represent the complete rejection of communist doctrine. The law adopted on the status of the People's Congress is the first one of its kind in both Russia and the CIS countries.

In promoting the sovereignty of the republic, a land survey of forests, the main resource of the republic, calculated in terms of their real value, was unilaterally adopted as the first of its kind in Russia. Laws on compulsory allowances to the disabled and measures on regulating money circulation in Komi were also adopted. [passage omitted]

International Affairs

Kravchuk Hopeful About Relations With Russia

OW0206174392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1732 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking to the Ukrainian Parliament Tuesday [2 June] President Leonid Kravchuk responded to questions on Ukraine's relations with Russia. The director of the President's press service Shlyaposhniko told "IF" [INTERFAX] that Kravchuk indicated he has great hopes for improving relations at the meeting between the two states in Dagomys. The President said the two leaders must meet in June to discuss a "broad" number of questions. Ukraine is preparing a packet of documents for the meeting. Kravchuk added that the foreign ministries of Russia and Ukraine are involved in the preparations.

Kravchuk said several bilateral agreements will be signed in Dagomys, mainly economic agreements. It is possible that political agreements will also be signed, a fact which reflects the changing reality in relations between the two nations. "All political agreements will be submitted for ratification by the Ukrainian Parliament", Kravchuk assured deputies.

Russian Resolution on Crimea Discussed

LD0206191592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1819 GMT 2 Jun 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondents Aleksandr Litvinov and Mikhail Melnik for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, June 2 TASS—The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet today described the Russian parliament's resolution on legal estimation of the 1954 Russian supreme state power bodies' decisions on changing the Crimean status as having no legal significance and no legal consequences for Ukraine.

This issue concerns only Ukraine and there could be no question of negotiating on the issue, says the resolution.

Speaking at today's session First Deputy Ukrainian Parliament Chairman Vasiliy Durdinets noted independent Ukraine has faced a direct act of pressure and open political dictate of the parliament of a country-member of the Commonwealth, the parliament, representing the fraternal Russian people, which is connected with Ukraine by many years of friendship.

This action of the Russian Supreme Soviet runs counter to the Helsinki Agreements, undermines friendship and good-neighbourly relations between Ukraine and Russia, as well as international peace and security in Europe, and violates the bilateral treaty, under which the two states took an obligation of abstaining from actions capable of harming state sovereignty of the other side.

Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko told the parliament session the Russian parliament decision was taken negatively by many states.

The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet also adopted a statement addressed to the Russian parliament. The statement says, in particular, the Russian Federation is not the only successor of the former Union and, thus, it cannot unilaterally cancel legal acts and norms adopted by the Soviet Union.

The statement stressed the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet rejects the Russian parliament's attempts to carry its policy as regards Ukraine from the positions of Russian national chauvinism and imperial supremacy.

The Ukrainian-Russian relations must be based and develop only on principles of the international law and equal dialogue.

The session was attended by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk.

Pipeline To Close if Russian Debt Not Paid

LD0206215192 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Since 1 January, Russia has not paid Ukraine a single kopeck for the use of the Druzhba [Friendship] oil pipeline. I will remind you that it transports oil to the countries of Western Europe via Ukraine. As for the debt, the sum is not small—200 million rubles and $5 million. According to a report in the MOLOD UKRAINY newspapter, if the debt is not paid in the near future, the pipeline's bolts in Lvov Oblast will be closed.

Intention To Sell Arms to Middle East Reported

LD0206230392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Jun 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to the INTERSEPT agency, Ukraine intends to strengthen its relations with the countries of the Near East and, in particular, to sell weapons there. Ukraine Foreign Ministry official Nagaychuk has stated that Ukraine does not want to base its policy in that region on the arms trade. However, a number of the Arab countries have expressed their interest in such purchases and the government does not have reasons to refuse.

Draft Agreement Prepared With Germany

LD2905170892 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0000 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Ukraine has become the first state of the CIS to prepare a draft agreement with Germany on investments in Ukrainian economy and mutual protection of investments. The head of the delegation of the German Foreign Office and Ministry of Economy, Wolfgang Unger,

said after talks with Ukrainian partners that German businessmen were ready to invest money into Ukrainian agriculture, engineering industry, coal mining industry and some other branches. The draft agreement will be passed to the governments of both countries in the nearest future.

Telecommunications Venture Signed

LD2505175192 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0947 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] The Ukraine's Ministry of Communications has signed an agreement on setting up of a joint venture with telecommunication companies of the Netherlands, Denmark, and Germany. A project has already been prepared which envisages the establishment of a system of regular radio telephone channel with any settlement of the world. [sentence as heard] Such communication will be in action in Kiev already in the nine months' time [as heard], and in 20 other cities of the republic within next seven years.

Vatican Appoints Papal Representative

LD0206223592 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Archbishop Antonio Franco became the papal representative in Ukraine. The Papal Nuncio sees his main mission as religious reconciliation in the country. Speaking in front of the bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, he stated: "Ukraine is a 'test stone' of sincerity and desire for a dialogue, either from the Catholic or the Orthodox sides. The papal representative in Ukraine, if he wants to be loyal to his mandate, cannot stand aside from this task."

National Affairs

Crimean Parliament Opens Session 2 Jun

OW0206183592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1809 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [2 June], the parliament of the Crimea opened its session. It will discuss agrarian problems, and set up commissions for consultations with Russia on economic problems and for talks with Uzbekistan on the return of the exiled ethnic groups to the Crimea.

Chairman of the Crimean Council of Ministers Vitaliy Kurashik was removed from the Commission for Dividing Powers Between Ukraine and the Crimea. Some other deputies who had voted against the Crimea's state independence also received a non-confidence vote.

Chairman of the Crimean parliament Nikolay Bagrov announced that the Ukrainian delegation to the talks with the Crimea will be now led by First Vice-Chairman of the Ukrainian parliament Vasiliy Durdinets, instead of Vice-Chairman of the Ukrainian parliament Vladimir Grinev.

Meanwhile, hundreds of Simferopol residents are picketing the parliament building. They demand that the constitution be protected and that a referendum on the republic's independence be held.

Notes Peasants' Hardship

LD0206195192 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1220 GMT 2 Jun 92

["For the Agenda—Peasant Problems"— UKRINFORM headline; by UKRINFORM correspondents Valentin Vernodubenko and Lev Ryabchikov]

[Excerpts] Simferopol, 2 Jun—The Crimean Supreme Soviet special session continued its work today. The deputies honored the memory of victims deported on 2 June 1944 from Crimea—Armenians, Bulgarians, and Greeks—with a minute's silence. [passage omitted] A statement from the Organizing Committee on the Social Protection of Rural Workers of the Republic was read out at the session. It referred to the extraordinarly worrysome situation which has developed at Crimean farms in connection with the rise in the value of material and technical resources, and the low prices for peasants' production.

All this is forcing collective and state farms to the verge of bankrupcy. Workers of the agroindustrial complex are demanding the right to set the optimum prices on technology, machinery, fuel, and other resources, and to increase subsidies on agricultural production. Unless effective measures are immediately adopted to resolve these problems, an all-Crimean rally of peasants will be held in the coming days. Following this, farms will suspend deliveries of milk and meat to state processing enterprises. If this also does not have an effect, then all deliveries of farm produce will be stopped from 1 July. [passage omitted]

Discusses Agriculture Matters

LD0206221292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2022 GMT 2 Jun 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Lev Ryabchikov for TASS]

[Text] Simferopol, June 2 TASS—The special session of the Crimean parliament has wound up the discussion of the problems of agriculture and an ultimatum of farmers who are unsatisfied with their position. A resolution adopted upon the results of this discussion notes that many points of the parliament's earlier decision on the priority development of the agro-industrial sector and its problems were unfulfilled. The Crimean Council of Ministers was charged with ensuring the supply of material and technical resources to the countryside, boosting

the production of basic farm products by raising purchasing prices and streamlining wages in the national economy.

The Crimean parliament came up with a legislative initiative by asking the Ukrainian parliament to cancel the 18-percent tax on profits received from the processing of output grown by the subsidiary enterprises and workshops and return the money that were collected in the form of the tax on these profits. It was decided to extend to Crimea's Council of Ministers the right to issue licences for taking commodities out of Ukraine.

The issue of the peninsula residents' citizenship sparked off debates at the session although it was not on the agenda. The Supreme Soviet decided to send a telegram to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk with the request to take into account the complex political situation in the republic and the multi-ethnic nature of its population and to suspend temporarily the operation of his decree on the procedure for considering issues related to the Ukrainian citizenship on the republic's territory.

The parliament session also adopted an appeal to news media saying that although complex processes are under way in the Crimea, there are no grounds to compare this situation with what is happening in the Commonwealth's flashpoints. The Crimea is calm and its resorts are prepared to accept all who are willing to have a rest there.

Makes Appeal on Passport Issue

OW0206221492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1943 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Crimean President appealed to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk with a request to temporarily suspend his decree on reviewing questions concerning Ukrainian citizenship on Crimean territory. The address was made Tuesday [2 June] in Simferopol at the session of Parliament in connection with protests from voters. Their dissatisfaction was aroused by the collection of passports in the republic; an order by the Ukrainian Interior Minister stated that a stamp with "Ukraine" and the trident must be placed in the passports.

Ukranian, Crimean Leaders Hold News Conference

LD0206201192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1731 GMT 2 Jun 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Yalta, June 2 TASS—There are no grounds to compare the Crimea with the Dniester region or Nagorno-Karabakh, head of the Ukrainian parliament Ivan Plushch and his Crimean counterpart Nikolay Bagrov told a news conference on Monday [1 June] night on results of their consultative meeting in Yalta.

Speaking on the division of powers between Ukrainian and Crimean state power bodies, Plushch stressed the Crimea must have complete economic independence. In his words, in case the autonomous republic decides to conclude a mutually beneficial treaty with a foreign state (it does not concern Ukraine), Kiev must not interfere in licensing and quotas.

As for borders, the Army, the interior troops, the national guard, the customs service and the financial-credit system, this is the Ukrainian prerogative.

Touching on the Black Sea Fleet, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet chairman said: There is no such question for Ukraine. Everything that is needed is to "divorce" in a civilized way on the legislative basis.

The situation on the peninsula, where representatives of 100 nationalities reside, is normal and controlled, noted the news conference speakers. There are no grounds for inter-ethnic conflicts.

Plushch said there are so-called "saviors of Ukraine" in the republic that send their activists to the Crimea, thus hampering the stabilization there.

As for the status of the Russian language, the Ukrainian parliament head noted the state language in Ukraine is Ukrainian. Still, this does not infringe Russian as a language of inter-ethnic communication. It can also be a state one in the areas of the Russian-speaking population compact residence.

In the words of Bagrov, the Crimean parliament will do its best to prevent the Crimea from becoming an apple of discord in the Ukrainian-Russian relations. After the consultative meeting, he hopes for the stabilization of the Crimean situation. It was a constructive conversation, and in case the Ukrainian parliament supports the joint statement, it will be an important step towards the solution of acute problems, said Bagrov.

Meeting Results Noted

LD0306110192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0500 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A statement has been adopted as a result of a consultative meeting of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and the Presidium of the Crimean Supreme Soviet held in Yalta. It notes that the Republic of Crimea should, as an integral part of Ukraine, have all the political and legal conditions enabling it to fulfill its special potential stemming from its geographical position, to have an economy open to foreign investments, and to become a zone of economic and cultural cooperation. Without laying claim to international political status in law, the Crimea should have the right independently to enter into relations with other states in the socioeconomic and cultural sphere.

Crimean Movement Determined To Hold Referendum

OW0206111492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Crimean Republican Movement has announced intentions to hold an independence referendum. An appeal of the movement says that a quarter of a million of residents of the Crimea have demanded such a referendum and the movement feels responsible to them and all other Crimean citizens for holding one.

The public vote is scheduled for August 2 but the Ukrainian parliament has spoken against it and made Simferopol withdraw the independence declaration.

The appeal voices anxiety over the growth of tension in relations with Ukraine.

The movement urged the presidium of the Ukrainian parliament to use all its influence to stop attempts of some Ukrainian government bodies to solve the Crimean problem by force.

It voiced readiness to settle any differences through talks and stressed that relations between the Crimea and Ukraine are increasingly becoming relations between two states.

"It is now that the foundations of cooperation between the Crimea and Ukraine for many years are being laid," the appeal stresses. "It is the duty of Ukrainian deputies to do everything for normalizing our relations in the interests of the Ukrainian and Crimean people."

Movement Protests Refusal To Consider Documents

OW0206221692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1943 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Members of the Republican Movement of Crimea Tuesday [2 June] destroyed a tent village outside the Crimean Parliament in Simferopol to protest the Parliament's refusal to consider a packet of documents presented by the deputy fraction "Respublika" on the establishment of the Crimean Constitution.

The documents concern a law on banks and the banking system of Crimea, a law transferring jurisdiction to the Parliament all security, justice, and customs offices located on its territory, and giving independent media the technical means and channels so that the events in the region will be reported objectively.

However, the deputies felt that prior to satisfying "Respublika's" demands, the results of the work by the committee on the limitation of powers between Crimea and Ukraine must be received. A statement passed June 1 by the Presidiums of the parliaments of the two republics stipulates that the committee should complete its work by June 5.

Byelarus

First Claim Ever on CIS Navy Property Made

OW0206183692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1809 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to sources close to the head of the Byelarusian parliament, Byelarus will lay claims on part of the property of the CIS's naval training center to use it for training the Byelarusian merchant marine personnel.

The CIS Armed Forces' General Staff is planning to use the center for training CIS naval officers.

Experts of the Byelarusian parliament's chairman note that this is the first time Byelarus has laid property claims on the former USSR's navy. It is not ruled out that it will also lay claims on ships or insist on transferring part of their cost to the National Bank of Byelarus.

More on Claims on Naval Property

OW0206194992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1913 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The INTERFAX correspondent has learned from the sources closely related to the head of the Byelarusian parliament that the Republic is going to claim the military installations situated on the territory of a technical base belonging to a naval training center of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces (JAF). Byelarus intends to employ the capabilities available at the center for the purpose of training the Byelarusian personnel who would subsequently man the Republic's merchant marine fleet which Byelarus designs to set up in the near future.

The General Staff of the Commonwealth JAF, however, has its own views as regards the future of this center, planning to continue using it for training officers for the CIS Navy, and leaving it under its jurisdiction.

The experts advising the Chairman of Byelarus' Supreme Council remark that the Republic, in asserting its rights to the property of the former USSR Navy, is setting a precedent.

Thus, Byelarus' next logical step could be either its claim to a share of the naval vessels or a demand to transfer their worth to the accounts of the Republic's national banks.

In the meantime, the division of military materiel, armaments, combat equipment, and the military units stationed on the territory of Byelarus has largely been completed. The Republic's armed forced have incorporated the units of the air defense and land forces with the exception of several training centers. The Byelarusian Ministry of Defense has acquired nearly 90 per cent of the conventional bombers and attack aircraft, as well as a military air transportation regiment.

As regards the strategic bombers, Byelarus will be entitled to only 10 per cent of the aircraft stationed on the territory of the Republic.

IF [INTERFAX] note: Still stationed on the territory of Byelarus is a 40,000-strong strategic force, subordinate to the CIS JAF General Staff. It includes two major missile bases in Lida and Mosyr (54 mobile launcher P-12M long-range nuclear missile capabilities), as well as nearly half of the air force units deployed in Byelarus and several training centers falling under the category of the Commonwealth Strategic Armed Forces.

Moldova

Military Observers Begin Tighina Assignment

AU2905203692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 29 May 92

[Septimiu Roman report from Chisinau]

[Text] The positioning of military observers in Tighina represents the most positive development so far within the efforts to reach a political settlement of the conflict, Ambassador Marcel Dinu, head of the Romanian observers delegation, told a Bucharest radio reporter today in Chisinau. That is a new and positive experience which should be extended over the whole conflict area, as stipulated by the agreement of the four foreign ministers, he added.

The meeting in Tighina of the observers, who are to monitor the conflict area in accordance with the statement of the four foreign ministers, is beginning to yield results. No shooting or explosions were heard in Tighina last night. The meeting was also attended by Major General Nikolay Stolyarov, deputy supreme commander of the CIS forces, and Yuriy Netkachev, commander of the 14th Army stationed in Tiraspol. After thanking the people's deputies of that area, who have been monitoring the situation in Tighina so far, leaders of the observer groups from each of the four countries took the floor, saying they were ready to fulfill their mission.

The first joint observer groups began their activities yesterday at 1700 in the sectors and possible targets which were assigned to them, their mission consisting of monitoring the observance of the definitive cease-fire both in the town of Tighina and around it.

Field correspondents reported a similarly calm situation was reported in many other parts of the conflict zone, aside from some sporadic fire meant to provoke the adversary. Such provocative fire, although somewhat more intense, was reported yesterday afternoon when shots were exchanged near the village of (?Delacau) as separatist forces using mortars and machine guns set ablaze the car carrying reporters for the [Chisinau television] "Messenger" news program. Their cameras and car were destroyed, but the crew managed to escape.

In the villages of Hlinoaia and Clemenciuc, in Slobozia Rayon, military equipment, including armored vehicles and tanks, has been returned to combat positions after separatists had withdrawn it the previous day, in view of the four-way talks.

Separatist leader Igor Smirnov asserted during a news conference held in Tiraspol that he would not regret it if the 14th Army left the territory of the self-styled Dniester Republic. That is a problem for Russia and it is Russia's right to withdraw her army, Smirnov said, as reported by REUTER.

Yet, there is a great discrepancy between words and deeds. The Moldovan media announced a few days ago with great satisfaction that one part of the airborne regiment of that army, stationed in Chisinau, had already left the republic. A little while later, the legal expert of the Moldovan Defense Ministry announced that the only soldiers who had left were those who had ended their military service and had to be discharged anyway. Colonel (?Lebedi), the commander of that regiment, very kindly allowed the tripartite commission—set up from the representatives of the Chisinau municipal town hall, the Moldovan defense ministry, and of the airborne regiment stationed in Chisinau—to inventory the military equipment, furniture, intangible ammunition reserves, and transport vehicles of that unit. He did not allow, however, for the depots of weapons, supplies, and fuel to be inventoried as well, saying that all that belongs to the airborne regiment. Colonel (?Lebedi) also forbade inventory of the chemical weapons depot.

Dniester Urges Moldova To Stop Military Action

LD0206190392 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1802 GMT 2 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] 2 Jun [dateline as received]—A session of the unrecognized Dniester Republic parliament which ended late this evening has called on the parliament of Moldova, which resumes work on 9 June, to stop military actions against the Dniester region and to withdraw formations of the Moldovan police from the territory of the region. Grigoriy Marakutsa, one of the Dniester region leaders, told this over the phone to an ITAR-TASS correspondent.

He added that deputies to the session had confirmed the sovereignty and independence of the Dniester Republic and suggested to the Moldovan leadership that they conclude a federation treaty. They appealed to the parliaments and presidents of Russia and Ukraine to facilitate a peaceful resolution of the conflict in the region or, in the event of, as Grigoriy Marakutsa put it, Moldovan aggression against the Dniester region continuing, to come to the aid of the region. The deputies also appealed to the countries of the CIS and other states of the world community asking for recognition of the Dniester Republic.

Popular Front Leader Captured; Dniester 'Calm'

OW0206190092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1811 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moldovan Interior Ministry's press bureau and the Dniester parliament's press center report that last night was relatively calm in the conflict zone.

The Dniester guards' officer-on-duty informed IF [INTERFAX], however, that on the night June 1, the police fired at the dam of the Dubossary hydro-power plant, and at the central highway running through the Grigoriopol region. One guard was killed and two wounded. The press center of the Dniester government did not confirm this information.

The Moldovan Defence Ministry reports that on the night June 1 the Dniester guards opened fire several times on the positions of the Moldovan police in the Dubossary and Grigoriopol regions. There were no victims.

National radio of Moldova announced on Tuęsday [2 June] morning that the Dniester guards kidnapped the leader of the Tiraspol branch of the Christian-Democratic Popular Front Ilie Ilashku.

The reports also said that Ilashku was chased for several days and his apartment was searched last night.

14th Army Asked To Withdraw 'Urgently'

AU0206183492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1715 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Chisinau, ROMPRES 2/6/1992—The Republic of Moldova's Foreign Affairs Minister Nicolae Tiu stated that the latest events have proved that the 14th Army is involved in the conflict in Trans-Dniester in the open. It has acted until now and has also involved in that conflict lately.

In connection with the statement made by Russia's Defence Minister Grachev that the 14th Army withdrawal from Trans-Dniester is a problem because sixty percent of its military are inhabitants of the districts on the left bank of the Dniester, Mr. Tiu said: "Mr. Grachev forgets they are citizens of the Russian Federation and not of Moldova. It would be better if he understood that the Army withdrawal would settle the conflict. We consider that the 14th Army withdrawal should be made urgently and with the participation of international observers."

'Terrorist Group' Arrested; Weapons Seized

OW0206180992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1733 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press center of the government of the Dniester republic reports that a terrorist group headed by the

leader of the local division of the Christian Democratic Popular Front Ilashku was arrested in Tiraspol Tuesday [2 June].

Reports say the group was involved in the murder of the Chairman of the Slovodzeisk regional executive committee Ostapenko and Gusar, one of the leaders of the local police.

During the arrest a number of weapons, ammunition and military uniforms belonging to Dniester units was confiscated.

The press center said the members of the group planned the destruction of much of the property in the region and terrorist acts against Dniester leaders.

Officers See Problems in 14th Army Pullout

LD0306101192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] The possible mechanism for withdrawing the 14th Army from the Dniester region is not clear to the army officers deployed in the region, an ITAR-TASS correspondent reports, citing sources at the army headquarters. It is noted in particular that it will not be possible to achieve the total relocation of the army as the local inhabitants will blockade the barracks. Moreover, the servicemen are unlikely to show any desire to leave Tiraspol. The officers have become closely linked with the region, and the soldiers are mostly conscripts from the Dniester region. Also, there is a strong feeling in the units in favor of protecting the civilian population from military action by Moldova.

The 14th Army headquarters notes that Moldova possesses 100 tanks, 200 APC's, and "Grad" and "Uragan" rocket systems. The servicemen see the way out in the army being a force to restrain passions until it proves possible to resolve the conflict by political means, the ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by a representative of the 14th Army command.

Renewed Shooting Breaks 'Calm' in Dniester

LD0306093692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Correspondent Gennadiy Varfolomeyev report from Dniester region]

[Text] On the evening of 2 June the Dniester Supreme Soviet confirmed the status of an independent sovereign state. As expected, this provoked an aggravation of the situation in the zone of military activities. The 10-day period of relative calm seems to have ended. At about 2400 on 2 June large-caliber machine guns and mortars opened fire on guards' positions in the area of the dam and the ferro-concrete works in Dubossary. The guards were forced to return fire. The exchange of fire continued for several hours.

A spokesman for the Moldovan side reported by telephone that fire was opened by a third force, the uncontrolled armed formations of the Moldovan home guard. An exchange of fire on the night of 2-3 June also occurred in the direction of Cosnita.

On the Dniester side, according to preliminary information, one person has been wounded. It is quite evident that the process of peaceful development of events does not suit some extremists from the Moldovan People's Front, which is indeed destabilizing the situation.

No Casualties Reported

LD0306112592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1053 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, June 3 TASS—Shootings resumed last night in the Dubossary area of the breakaway Dniester Republic, but no casualties were reported, according to preliminary information. Both conflicting sides accused each other for violating the ceasefire.

The Moldovan Interior Ministry said that Dniester guardsmen began shelling the positions of Moldovan police near the settlements of Cosnita, Pogrebya and Cocieri at two o'clock at night. By dawn the guardsmen left their positions and retreated.

The Tiraspol press centre said Moldovan police were the first to open fire.

The Moldovan Radio reported that the leader of the Tiraspol branch of the Moldovan Popular Front, Ilie Ilasku, and his colleague Stefan Urytu were illegally arrested on Tuesday [2 June] and the charges of terrorism brought against them were a fake.

The radio said the Popular Front members were arrested for their struggle for the rights of Moldovans in the Dniester area which, it added, are violated by separatists.

Kazakhstan

Draft Constitution Adopted on First Reading

LD0206190192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1924 GMT 2 Jun 92

[By KAZTAG correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko for TASS]

[Text] Alma-Ata, June 2 TASS—The Kazakh language is becoming the state one in Kazakhstan, but the Russian and other national languages will be freely developed, according to a compromise reached by parliamentarians on Tuesday [2 June] during discussions of the draft constitution.

President Nursultan Nazarbayev, the author of the draft, called on deputies to do everything possible to promote friendship among all peoples of Kazakhstan, which he said is the basis of republican prosperity.

The draft constitution, which was adopted by a majority of votes upon the first reading and will now be submitted for public discussion, contains a number of new articles.

The Kazakhstan's president might be also head of government who authorises the prime minister to directly manage the work of the cabinet, draft says.

A professional parliament runs the legislative activity, according to the document, which bears no mention of the Congress of People's Deputies.

Kazakhstan is an independent, democratic and unitary state. It enjoys unlimited sovereignty and territorial integrity, according to the document, which also secures inviolability of frontiers.

The draft proclaims a basically new idea of national statehood created jointly with civil society. All citizens, regardless of their nationality, enjoy equal rights and freedoms in the Kazakh state.

Man, his life and freedom, are proclaimed the supreme values by the draft. The document also guarantees new rights, such as the right for life, for private property, for receiving and distributing information, free travel and choosing the place of residence, as well as equal access to state services.

However, the state retains the exclusive right of possessing land, mineral wealth, fauna and flora, and other natural resources.

'Heated Debates' Held Over Official Language

OW0206191492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1811 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [2 June], the parliament of Kazakhstan continued to discuss the new constitution. Heated debates flared up over the provision reserving for the Kazakh language the official status and for Russian—the status of the language of inter-ethnic communication. The deputies' opinions were diametrically opposed.

Representatives of the Russian-speaking population demanded to be given guarantees that following the granting of the official status to the Kazakh language, Russian will not be discriminated against.

Meanwhile, about 400 active members of the unregistered national party, Zheltoksan, and of the Kazak Tili society picketed the parliament building demanding that the Kazakh language be made the only official language. One of the posters read: "Those who miss the official Russian language must go to Russia!".

Nazarbayev Opposes Law Revision

OW0206223092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1914 GMT 2 Jun 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Today the Kazakh Parliament continued the discussion of the draft constitution of Kazakhstan presented by President Nursultan Nazarbayev. Yesterday the President interfered in the discussion responding to the demand of some members of parliament that the 1990 language law be revised.

IF [INTERFAX] note: The recently formed Social Peace group consisting of 76 members of parliament insists on the Russian language being given the status of a second official language of Kazakhstan alone with Kazakh. The present legislation, however, qualifies Russian as a "language for interethnic contacts."

Nazarbayev strongly objected to the Social Peace group's demand, for, in his opinion, such a change in the language law could provoke ethnic discord, but, at the same time, he stressed the need for a special clause in the constitution prohibiting any discrimination on the language principle.

Explaining his idea of presidential government in the republic, Nazarbayev said it should be strong but democratic.

In his opinion, the parliament should not have complete control over the president. He thought the American political system was an ideal model to follow in that way.

He did not believe the parliament should approve the appointment by the President of more than eight principal ministers in the Kazakh government, including the Interior, Security, and Finance ministers. In his view, there was no need for the parliament's consent to any other appointments.

Foreign Ministry on Azerbaijan-Armenia Conflict

LD2705084492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2203 GMT 26 May 92

[By KAZTAG correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin—TASS]

[Text] Alma-Ata, May 26 TASS—The Kazakh Foreign Ministry has called for a peaceful settlement of the Azeri-Armenian conflict.

"On coordination with the Azeri and Armenian sides, Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation have taken mediating efforts to normalize the situation in the region, being guided by the principle of non-interference in internal affairs and strictly observing the rights of all citizens, regardless their nationality, in accordance with norms of the international law," says a statement circulated here today.

In this situation, the Kazakh Foreign Ministry considers cease-fire and the presence of U.N., CSCE and CIS observers to be a necessary and obligatory condition for the conflict settlement. In this connection, the ministry calls on the states involved in the conflict to "abstain from attempts to render unilateral support to both Azerbaijan and Armenia, since such a policy leads only to a greater escalation of tension."

It also suggested to find ways for negotiations in order to organize a meeting of all interested sides.

Mufti Nysanbay-Uly Reelected to New Term

LD2105121292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1119 GMT 20 May 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Alma-Ata—Mufti of the ecclesiastical board of Kazakhstan's Muslims Ratbek Kazhi Nysanbay-Uly was re-elected to a new term at the 11th Congress of Kazakhstan's Muslims on May 19. Representatives of the Muslims of the Commonwealth member-states and also Pakistan and Turkey who expressed their desire to help revive Islam on the territory of Kazakhstan attended the Congress.

Representatives of Kazakhstan's Party of National Independence Alash, who attacked the Alma-Ata Mosque on December 13, 1991 accusing it of links with the KGB, picketed the Congress. Addressing a press conference in Moscow on May 19, Alash party leader Aron Natushev protested against the Congress's results.

Kyrgyztan

President Akayev Interviewed on Moscow Visit

LD2905103392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1930 GMT 28 May 92

[Interview with Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev by correspondent Aleksandr Peslyak in Moscow on 28 May—recorded]

[Text] [Peslyak] The first and main question is about the purpose of your visit to Moscow. What have you been doing here?

[Akayev] My purpose is quite a prosaic one. Last week, or should I say throughout May, nature has been dealing powerful blows to our republic—torrential rains of simply unprecedented intensity, accompanied by mudslides many meters deep have occurred. Then an earthquake measuring force 7 took place in the south of the republic. They have brought the situation in the republic, which was hard enough without them, to a critical point. I will name just a few figures.

More than 10,000 houses have been damaged, 80 percent of them have been almost totally destroyed; in a word, some 80,000 people have become homeless. Most of them have no clothes or food because the powerful mudslides not only destroyed the houses but also swept away everything that was inside the houses. In connection with this, naturally we immediately turned our eyes to Russia, because in earlier times, when we were within the USSR, Russia helped us in the event of such natural disasters.

I am very grateful to the Russian Government and to Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin for the very substantial help they have given to us. I hope this will help us to overcome the difficulties facing the republic. That is one side of it. But today we—both the people of Kyrgyzstan and the people of Russia—feel, as Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin also said at yesterday's meeting, that we need to raise our relations to a new and higher level, and to conclude a treaty of friendship and cooperation between the Russian Federation and Kyrgyzstan.

Those then are the two aims I was pursuing when I met President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, state secretary Gennadiy Eduardovich Burbulis, and Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Timurovich Gaydar. We agreed on a timetable for the preparation and signing of a friendship and cooperation treaty between Kyrgyzstan and the Russian Federation.

[Peslyak] Can you reveal the timetable?

[Akayev] Yes, I can. I hope it will happen in the second half of June.

[Peslyak] Askar Akadiyevich, may I on behalf of the viewers, express our sincere sympathy in connection

with the disaster that has occurred, and could you perhaps explain what forms of aid and interaction were discussed at the talks?

[Akayev] We raised four main questions. First, we urgently need a favorable long-term loan, because we will have to build schools and hospitals. We settled the question of providing a favorable 10-year loan at an annual interest of 10%.

[Peslyak] How else will Russia's active solidarity show itself?

[Akayev] Russia will help with cash, by transferring to Kyrgyzstan during May up to 1.5 billion [currency not specified] which will pay pensions, student grants, and wages to those who have not been receiving them for two or three months. In addition, there will have to be resowing; for this Russia is allocating up to 25,000 tonnes of petroleum products. Finally, because of the threat of epidemic, medical supplies are needed, and large deliveries of them are expected from Moscow.

Those then were the main—very specific—things which we need today like air. We have applied to many states of the world with whom we have recently established not only diplomatic, but also trade and commercial links, and they are also sending us aid. The Japanese Government, in particular, has sent us 20 tonnes of medicines and transferred $100,000 to us. Now the Turkish Government has allocated 1,000 tonnes of flour for us. We are also expecting help from other countries of the world. But the principal issues have naturally been tackled here in Moscow.

[Peslyak] In his recent interview Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev said that a treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance which is being concluded with Russia is the first large-scale interstate treaty. If you are aware of major points of that treaty, and a draft which Kyrgyzstan and Russia have drawn up, are there any similarities and specific points?

[Akayev] I think that the treaty which we are now preparing together with Russia will be on the same level as the treaty between the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan. The scale is different, of course. The history of mutual relations between Kyrgyzstan and Russia will amount to exactly 205 years this year. Two hundred and five years ago farsighted representatives of the Kyrgyz nobility sent their ambassadors to St. Petersburg for the first time in order to come under the protection of the Russian Empire. Our friendship and cooperation date back to that time. Of course, I am far from idealizing these relations. Of course there have been bright moments and moments which now give rise to controversy. Nevertheless, something eternal, bright, and kind is characteristic of our mutual relations.

Last August, when the State Committee for the State of Emergency emerged, we the Kyrgyz people, without a moment's hesitation, were among the first to take the side of democratic Russia and President Yeltsin, who courageously fought the forces of reaction which wanted to return us to the era of totalitarianism.

[Peslyak] Taking into account Kyrgyzstan's serious particularity, which implies possible natural disasters or technogenic catastrophes, could we speak about there being a possibility of retraining and arranging a serious conversion of the Army toward its peaceful preventive use in the event of such accidents and disasters? Could this become a solution to the issue of social protection for the Army, while retaining its security function?

[Akayev] First, I would like to say that Kyrgyzstan has adopted a decision not to create its own army. We are, perhaps, the only CIS country which has made a decision not to create an army of its own. We will limit ourselves to setting up a national guard numbering around 800 people. We are only just setting it up, and we have laid down the idea which you have just set forth, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich. We would like to use this national guard most often since we have frequent earthquakes, mudslides, avalanches, and we would like this national guard to became a rapid deployment force which could be used precisely to eliminate the consequences of natural disasters. It is known that we are among the six CIS member-countries which have signed the Collective Security Treaty. All this, I believe, provides us with firm guarantees of security.

[Peslyak] A few words about the economic situation, please.

[Akayev] Both in industry and agriculture, the rate of production decline amounts to about 12-15 percent. But we hoped that this year we would be able to somehow improve the state of affairs in agriculture.

[Peslyak] We are hoping to maintain industrial and agricultural production at the level of previous years. We are also hoping to continue and successfully develop our reforms.

[Akayev] First and foremost, we would very sincerely like to see the successful advance of reforms in Russia because our economies have common circulatory systems and the heart lies in Russia. So naturally the success of reforms in Russia is of great importance. Then our reforms in Kyrgyzstan will also be successful. I believe that our economy will start to pick up, literally this year or the beginning of next year.

[Peslyak] Thank you very much for the interview.

Tajikistan

Regions Continue To Rebel Against Authority

OW2505144192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 25 May 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leaders of the Leninabad region have informed Tajikistan's President Rakhmon Nabiyev, parliament and government of national reconciliation that self-defence groups have been set up in all districts of this region. Also, an extraordinary coordinating council has been formed up to exercise control over all organizations, establishments and industrial enterprises. Besides that, the Leninabad region has reserved for itself the right to qualify as anti-constitutional all decisions taken by the current Tajik authorities.

The second rebellious region—the Kulyab region—has sent a telegram to the Tajik leaders qualifying the newly-established national assembly as anti-constitutional.

Earlier, the two regional administrations had decided to separate their local budgets from the republican one. The Leninabad region accounts for 65 per cent of Tajikistan's national income. President Nabiyev comes from this region.

Government Declares Situation Under Control

OW2705214292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1850 GMT 27 May 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Tajik Government has issued an appeal to the population in connection with the complex situation in the republic and the intention of some citizens to leave it.

The appeal notes in particular that despite the great damage caused by a natural disaster to Tajikistan (an estimated 10 billion rubles), as well as the difficult political plight, the government of national reconciliation is controlling the situation and any fears are "groundless".

The appeal points out that as a result of the disaster more than 120 people died, 6,000 living houses were destroyed, thousands became homeless. The disaster ruined a number of enterprises, cultural institutions, roads, electric lines, communication lines, irrigation systems, fields and gardens.

'Armed Confrontation' Spreading to Provinces

PM2805141192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 May 92 p 2

[Igor Lenskiy report: "Conflict Spreads"]

[Text] Tajikistan—Rally confrontation, subsequently spilling over into armed confrontation, has spread from Dushanbe to other regions of the republic, primarily Kulyab and Kurgan-Tyube Oblasts. The opposition and its opponents have set up illegal armed formations and are setting up posts and patrols and continuing to disarm militia staffers.

The situation in Kulyab Oblast is being controlled by national guardsmen, whose leaders refuse to contact the militia. Nor do they intend to surrender it [as published]. The situation in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast is even more complex. Armed opponents of the opposition are stationed in the settlement of Vaksh, and the city of Kurgan-Tyube and its outskirts are being patrolled by both sides, moreover with weapons as well.

Self-defense detachments, which are not pursuing political goals but explain their actions as defending their own lives and property, are also setting up their own armed blockades and posts.

Minister of Internal Affairs M. Navzhuvanov announced that 31 people have already been killed as a result of events at rallies, and 154 injured since 24 April. There are no casualities among the Russian-speaking population. More than 1,500 combat weapons have been found in the hands of the population.

Constant talks with leaders of the armed political groups have so far brought no results. Each side demands that its opponents disarm first. The situation is complicated by a natural disaster which has hit the republic. Landslides and mountain torrents have already claimed more than 150 lives. Losses are calculated in billions of rubles.

Government Urges People To Surrender Weapons

LD3105091492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0500 GMT 29 May 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Tajikistan's Government of national reconciliation has called on the population to surrender the illegal weapons in its possession. This is necessary in connection with the complex situation in the republic. Economic, political and criminal factors are destabilizing the situation. The volume of production has fallen by 12.5 percent compared to last year, 49 industrial enterprises have halted activity, and production output has diminished by 215 million rubles. More than 1,500 firearms are circulating in the republic. The main task today is to eliminate this source of destabilization.

Armenia

7th Army Commander on Troop Withdrawal

PM0206112992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jun 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Bablumyan: "Troops Withdraw From Armenia Without Undue Haste"]

[Text] Yerevan—The 7th Army stationed in Armenia will be withdrawn from the republic, but without undue haste—which would be liable to create additional difficulties.

As is well known, the troop withdrawal started 1 June this year. But, as I was told at Army Headquarters, so far all that is under way is the preparatory work without which it will be simply impossible to embark on such a complex operation. We are talking above all about creating normal living conditions for the military in the areas where they will have to continue their service.

The first to leave Armenia will be the missile brigade stationed in Stepanavan. The republic's Defense Ministry Press Center has reported that the troop withdrawal should be finished by mid-to-late 1995.

This IZVESTIYA correspondent was told by Major General Fedor Reut, commander of the 7th Guards' Army, that the troop withdrawal will take place in three stages, the first of which will end in 1994. The first trains will leave in two weeks' time. The general reported that 120 officers' families have already left Armenia.

Defense Ministry Statement on Nakhichevan

NC0106191892 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1215 GMT 29 May 92

[Statement issued by the Armenian Defense Ministry press service]

[Text] Yerevan, 28 May (ARMENPRES) Nakhichevan's armed formations have been given the counter-strikes they have deserved and have been thrown back from our borders with heavy losses on their part ever since the military operations began against our Republic at the Yeraskh border area on 18 May.

According to figures released by the Yeraskh regional military headquarters, the enemy suffered 50 casualties. The Nakhichevan authorities in their latest tally also noted that 17 of their soldiers are missing in addition to the casualties.

The Nakhichevan authorities were informed time and again that there were corpses of numerous Azeri armed personnel at the approaches to the Armenian defensive positions. Readiness also was expressed to allow the retrieval of these bodies on the condition of adherence to a cease-fire. The Azerbaijanis, however, replied by firing each time the Armenian side made this offer. With the help and participation of the Swiss Red Cross, the enemy located and retrieved its dead yesterday and today. The Armenian border guards did not obstruct this. According to information provided by Swiss Red Cross representatives, 16 Azerbaijani bodies were located and retrieved from the battlefield over the last two days. It is hoped that this humanitarian move by the Armenian side will not be distorted again, as has been the case in the past, by the Azerbaijani mass media and that the bodies, which have been exposed to the elements for days, will not be used as "yet another confirmation" of the fabricated reports about the Armenian use of chemical weapons in the Yeraskh border area.

Nagorno-Karabakh Official on CSCE Meeting

LD0106190892 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1609 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Yerevan, 1 Jun (ARMENPRESS-TASS)—In connection with a preparatory meeting now in progress in Rome for conducting a conference within the CSCE framework on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue, Georgiy Petrosyan, acting chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's Supreme Soviet, sent a message to meeting chairman Mario Raffaelli. The message expresses concern regarding the reaction of some countries and international organizations to the events in the region, especially those connected with breaking through the inhumane blockade of Nagorno-Karabakh by Azerbaijan, which has lasted for four years. The document expresses regret that a number of CSCE member-countries do not agree to the arrival in Rome of a competent delegation from Nagorno-Karabakh to work on equal terms with the rest of the participants. The message notes that such a position will not stimulate the successful holding of the conference.

Nagorno-Karabakh Permanent Mission Opens

OW0306012792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1944 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Yerevan Tuesday [2 June] the permanent mission of Nagorno- Karabakh opened. The Nagorno-Karabakh representative to Armenia is 37 year old Marvel Sarkisyan, an architect.

Chief, Deputy Chief of General Staff Promoted

NC0206194092 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Yerevan, 1 Jun (ARMENPRES)—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan issued a decree bestowing the rank of lieutenant general on Gurgen Arutyunovich Dalibaltayan, Armenia's first deputy defense minister and chief of the general staff, and the rank of major general on Colonel Artush Hovhannesovich Tadevosyan, deputy chief of the general staff.

Azerbaijan

Kamberov Says Country Seeks Peaceful Solution

TA0206204692 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1900 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Isa Kamberov, chairman of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, has said that his country is in favor of solving its problems with Armenia through peaceful means. Kamberov held a news conference in Baku. Erturk Yonden reports:

Kamberov said there are two ways of removing the Armenian gangs from the territories they have occupied: one being war and the other being political means. He said Azerbaijan's Turks have always preferred peace. Noting that time will give the Azerbaijanis the opportunity to exercise this preference, Kamberov said that a modern national army will be established soon and that trade and political relations will be developed with all Islamic countries. He added that national unity and solidarity will be secured in Azerbaijan.

No Deterioration in Ties With Russian Army

OW0206190992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1811 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During a press conference in Baku on Monday [1 June], Azerbaijan's Acting President Isa Kamberov said there was no deterioration in relations with Russian servicemen stationed in Azerbaijan.

The new leadership, he said, maintains normal relations with these units. An agreement has been reached, he said, on their status in Azerbaijan and on the schedule of withdrawal. Since May 18 there have been no incidents with the Russian units.

Isa Kamberov backed the idea of restoring Azerbaijan's sovereignty over Karabakh and demanded that the Armenian authorities create conditions for free return of the Azeri refugees and their normal living.

He highly estimated Iran's mediatory mission in the Armenian-Azeri conflict, noting that Iran's position differed from those of the UN and the CSCE.

Armenians Try To Widen Corridor to Karabakh

OW0206180792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1733 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Azeri Defense Ministry reports that Armenian groups using armored personnel carriers, attempted to widen the straight path connecting Karabakh and Armenia in the area of Shusha-Lachin. The Azeri Defense Ministry also reported that 6 "Grad" launch sites were established on the perimeter of the Azeri territory occupied by Armenians.

In the early morning hours Tuesday [2 June] 4 tanks, 2 "Grad" launchers, and four trucks carrying ammunition, including anti-tank mines and missiles were transported along the corridor to Nagorno-Karabakh. This information was given to "IF" [INTERFAX] in the Azeri National Security Ministry.

Medics Protest Armenian Use of Toxic Weapons

LD0206173692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1708 GMT 2 Jun 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Svetlana Krasnova for TASS]

[Text] Baku,June 2 TASS—Azerbaijani medics have expressed concern about the use of shells charged with toxic agents by Armenia in the war over the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh.

In an appeal to their colleagues in other countries, Azerbaijani medics said "mostly women, children and the elderly fall victim to these barbaric attacks".

Republican specialists and international experts have registered about 20 cases when people, mostly civilians, were wounded by shells charged with toxic agents, some of them died.

Armenian guerrillas used shells staffed with cyanide-containing agents to shell the town of Shusha and a mixture of other strong agents, including phosgene, diphosgene and others, against the Sadarak region in the Nakhichevan Republic of Azerbaijan, the appeal said.

Georgia

State Council Grants Presidium Emergency Powers

LD0306102392 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0730 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] The Georgian State Council headed by Eduard Shevarnadze held a session behind closed doors in Tbilisi yesterday.

As INTERFAX learned from reliable sources, after heated debate the State Council granted emergency powers to its presidium. This is seen as a necessary step given the current tensions and rising crime in the republic.

Regiment Withdrawal From S. Ossetia Viewed

LD0306084492 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0740 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 3 Jun—The personnel of a regiment of engineers and sappers has today left the Tskhinvali zone in an organized manner. It is going to a permanent base in Russia.

The ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the South Ossetia Supreme Soviet that the military construction specialists will be followed out of the territory of the region by a helicopter regiment. The withdrawal of the troops is being viewed with anxiety here: The Ossetian Guard and self-defense units now find themselves face to face with the Georgian irregulars and militia and the Georgian armed forces.

Oleg Teziyev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of South Ossetia and commander of the republic's armed forces, believes that the absence of hope for protection from outside will force the Ossetians to count only on their own strength, cohesion, and perseverance.

According to the North Ossetian SSR Ministry of Security, the situation on the territory of South Ossetia remains tense. Over the past 24 hours Tskhinvali and settlements in Tskhinvalskiy and Znaurskiy Rayons have been subjected to periodic firing from heavy-caliber machine guns, armored vehicles, and rocket launchers. Information about casualties is being clarified. The Ossetian side did not fire back.

The mass media of North Ossetia today published the text of a message from the council of representatives of the republic's interethnic "Our Ossetia" movement to Georgia's State Council. The document contains an insistent demand that every step be taken to stabilize the situation in South Ossetia, to see that the conditions of negotiations are observed, and to settle the armed conflict by political means.

Regiment Remains in S. Ossetia

LD0306134492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1314 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow, June 3 TASS—A Russian engineering regiment, which was reported to be withdrawn from Tskhinvali, is stationed where it was. It is just getting ready to pull out from South Ossetia, a spokesman for the Russian Defence Ministry told TASS on Wednesday [3 June].

Mud slides in the Caucasian mountains delayed the pullout as it is now necessary to check the withdrawal routes, he explained.

The spokesman also denied reports that paratroopers sent to protect the withdrawal consist of Georgians, who are viewed by South Ossetians as aggressors.

In the meantime, 39 pieces of military hardware, seized by South Ossetians from the engineering regiment, were returned, TASS learned from the Transcaucasian Military District Press Centre on Wednesday.

It happened due to intensive talks between the command of the district and the South Ossetian leadership. An appeal by the district's commander, Valeriy Patrikeyev, to the population to voluntarily return the seized weapons also helped.

Reaction to Arrival of Assault Force Noted

MK0206142292 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jun 92 p 1

[Liana Minasyan report: "Nationalization Not the Best Solution. But How Are People To Be Restrained?"]

[Text] South Ossetian Prime Minister Oleg Teziyev said the following the day before assault troops were brought into the helicopter regiment's bases: "South Ossetia is not so much at war with Georgia as with the Transcaucasus Military District," referring to the Transcaucasus Military District's handover of military hardware to the Georgian Armed forces and the fact that this equipment is being used to bombard Tskhinval.

Taymuraz Kusov, member of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet Presidium, made the following comment on the assault: "If this action was taken with a view to defending military property, well it is, of course, the command's right to take such steps. Anyway we support legal actions: I do not think that nationalizing the combat engineer and helicopter regiments is the best solution. It is another matter that effective measures have not been taken to restrain desperate people in South Ossetia from committing excesses."

According to Georgian Government information, 300 assault troops entered the territory of the helicopter regiment and fortified their positions there. The operation was carried out in the presence of General Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District. Sandro Kavsadze, chairman of the State Committee for Interethnic Relations and Human Rights, told Patrikeyev bluntly that if the Ossetians capture the helicopter regiment again, there will be a reaction from the Georgian military, "who will have no other option than to engage in hostilities on this territory."

Gas Supplies From North Ossetia Resume

LD0206170692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Natural gas has begun to arrive in Georgia today from North Ossetia via the gas pipeline. Yesterday, the parliament of the North Ossetian Republic lifted the blockade on gas supplies to Georgia. Shortly before this, supplies of natural gas from Azerbaijan to Georgia began, amounting to 40,000 cubic meters per hour. However, this amount was only enough to keep bakeries in Tbilisi and Rustavi in operation, the RIKA agency notes.

More Gas Supplies Arrive

LD0206185492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1400 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Announcer-read report from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] INTERFAX reports from Tbilisi that 4,000 cubic meters of gas per hour have started to arrive in Georgia from Azerbaijan. All of this gas is being fed directly to bakeries and metallurgical works in Rustavi, according to a Transgaz Association spokesman. All gas pipelines into Georgia had been closed down by South Ossetia earlier this year.

Contract To Set Up Venture With Libya Signed

LD2905224892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1719 GMT 29 May 92

[From the "External Economic Relations" section]

[Text] Tbilisi—The Georgian state concern Vardziya and the Libyan Economic Company signed a contract to set up the joint venture Dzho-Libi. The joint venture plans to reconstruct the Batumi oil refinery to increase its production capacity. The enterprise will refine Libyan oil and petroleum products will subsequently be marketed in Georgia and neighboring countries. The contract also envisages building new enterprises for other branches of the Georgian economy. In addition, the partners plan to form a Georgian-Libyan tourist agency, open an air service between Tbilisi and Tripoli and build new rest and tourist facilities.

Lithuania

Premier Vagnorius Gives Resignation Speech

LD2805154292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0910 GMT 28 May 92

[Address by Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius at the Lithuanian Supreme Council in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Of course this address and my letter of resignation has not been submitted of my own free will, this is a constrained letter of resignation. The politicians normally resign both when they fail to achieve something and when they are not allowed to achieve something that has to be achieved. In this case the main reason why I submitted my resignation is that you compel me to resign and do not allow me to carry out my duties. [passage omitted]

The situation in Lithuania is a complex one, however, it is complicated not because the people of Lithuania have lost hope and belief in a better life or that they have lost the wish and determination to set up a better life; it is because of the new majority in the Supreme Council. [passage omitted]

What is it that Lithuania needs most of all today? I think it needs order most of all. That is why we have been proposing all this year to allow us to restructure the work of the local governments, to allow us to restructure the work of the executive power, to restructure the work of the law and order bodies, to dismiss certain local governments which cannot ensure functioning any more. We asked you to adopt a law which would strengthen the responsibility of officials, we asked you to grant the government at least the elementary rights during the period of reforms to actively implement its policies. We asked you to help the organs of the Internal Affairs Ministry and other bodies of law and order adopting the laws on urgent actions and other indispensable laws.

However, our words were found meaningless here. Some say that we wanted to introduce a dictatorship. This is wrong. We wanted the only thing and that is order and creating the conditions so that everybody unconditionally would have to observe the laws. [passage omitted] You did not reject just one or two laws, you have practically rejected all the most important laws by which we were aspiring to strengthen the state and to restore the basic order.

I must say this clearly today that this has been done consciously, because in order to provoke people's dissatisfaction disorder had to be created. However, I am not sure that the dissatisfaction of the people will be directed at those deputies who are not present in this hall today or against the government which is compelled to resign. [passage omitted]

What state officials and workers of the law and order organs does Lithuanian state need? It needs qualified, principled and honest ones, and there are many such people in Lithuania. However, who are you defending? You are simply blocking the sacking of dishonest, incompetent and unprincipled specialists. You impede the sacking of those who have committed crudest violations, those who are inactive or whose actions are directed in the opposite direction. I am unable to say that Lithuania will be able to ensure the fuel supplies today because no doubts have been left about the fact that the action to prevent the signing of the required agreements by 1 June was a deliberate action, although the intergovernmental agreements between the Lithuanian and Russian Governments have been achieved. [passage omitted]

Lately the laws and the proposals of the government resulting from the confirmed program of the government's work have been either not submitted for discussion or simply rejected. Instead, incidental amendments to the already functioning laws which did not always conform to the spirit of reform were adopted. We cannot be responsible today for the situation both in the budget and the finance spheres. We cannot carry out an active agricultural reform, we cannot ensure a normal hard currency supply and the collection of taxes because we failed to receive support here on these most simple and most general issues. [passage omitted]

Most of you support the introduction of Litas. The contract for printing the Lithuanian currency has been delayed by a year. The printing of one of the most important denominations, the medium denomination of banknotes, and that of 100 Litas banknote, have been consciously delayed. One does not have to be a specialist in order to understand what it means to have the currency printed with the medium denomination banknotes missing. One does not have to be a specialist to understand what it means when the currency printing contract is changed without the consent of the government. [passage omitted]

The dissatisfaction with the present government and its policy voiced by the supporters of fraudulent business and dishonest government is fully understandable as is their desire to somehow compromise the government and its leaders while spreading various fabrications or while attempting to set up some ostensible, but very much needed, violations. [passage omitted]

Concluding my address I would like to stress the following point once again: This government is being overthrown not by the people of Lithuania but by you whom I boldly label as the communist bloc. I do not find it such a great misfortune to be overthrown by you. I will continue to work where I can be useful and will assist those who are interested in work. I would like you to regard this address as my letter of resignation (?and I ask you simply to put up your hands and take a vote on it).